



Jean Pieri / City Pages

VOL. 6, NO. 13

FEBRUARY 17-23, 1982

\$1.00

The Reagan Budget Package

Presents Of Malice

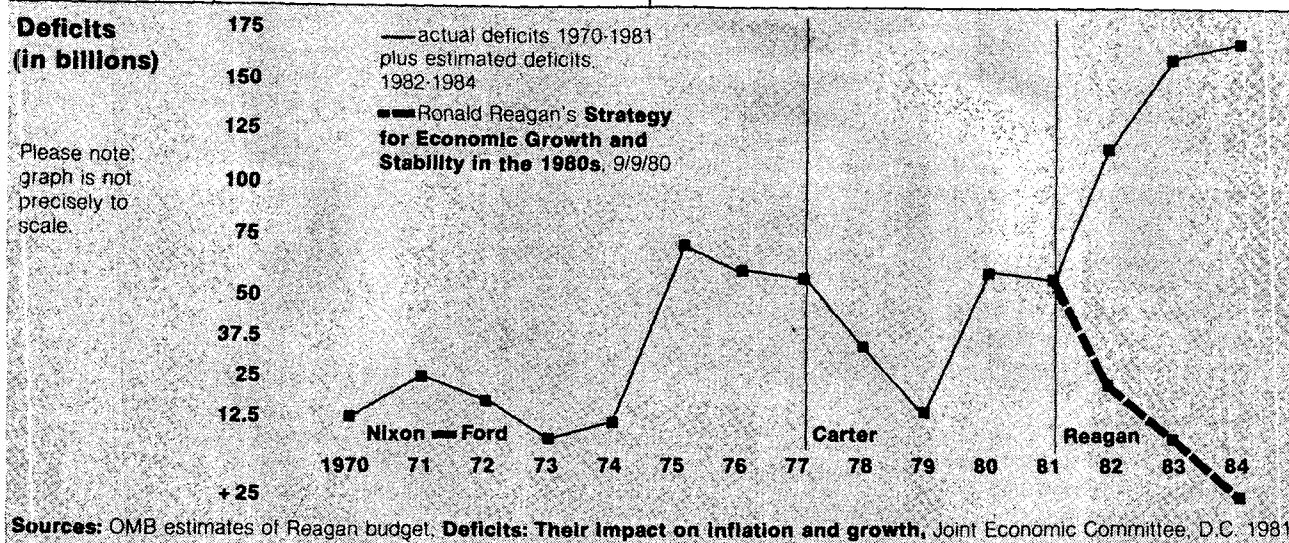


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Morris Dickstein on anti-modernism

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THE INSIDE STORY



Why deficits now cause recessions

I didn't always agree with President Kennedy. But when his 30 percent federal tax cut became law, the economy did so well that every group in the country came out ahead... If I become president, we're going to try that again.

—Reagan campaign commercial, 1980

By John Judis

I have resisted the often-made comparison between Ronald Reagan and Herbert Hoover, both because Hoover was a progressive Republican and because Hoover's economic strategy during the Depression differed in all its particulars from Reagan's. Hoover raised taxes in the face of rising unemployment and plummeting demand, while Reagan has convinced Congress to adopt mammoth individual and corporate tax cuts.

And while both Hoover and Reagan have professed belief in balanced budgets—Reagan's economic strategy announced during the 1980 campaign promised a balanced budget by 1983—Hoover made some attempt to practice what he preached, while Reagan has made next to none. Because of the tax cuts and increases in military spending, Reagan's 1982 budget is expected to come in at \$100 billion deficit—compared to Gerald Ford's record \$60 billion deficit in 1976. And while administration economists predict future deficits that hover at \$90 million, most independent economists dismiss their predictions as overly optimistic. (The Reagan estimates assume that 1982-1986 will be the most rapid rate of economic growth since World War II.)

Even though the particulars don't recall Hoover's program, there is an important analogy. When Hoover proposed to double tax rates in 1931, he was carrying out an economic strategy developed in the *laissez-faire*, boom days after the Civil War—one that didn't apply to the dark depression days. Similarly, Reagan is applying a strategy developed in the post-World War II wave of world prosperity to the stagflation-ridden economy of the '70s and '80s.

Kennedy vs. Reagan.

Reagan traces his tax cut strategy back to the Kennedy administration. Kennedy and his chief economist, Walter Heller, applied John Maynard Keynes' theory of deficit spending to the U.S. According to this theory, during times of high unemployment, unused industrial capacity, falling wages and prices and declining demand for goods and credit, federal deficits could be used to stimulate new demand and investment without causing inflation.

When Kennedy announced his tax program in 1961, unemployment had climbed to 6 percent (high in those halcyon days), industry was running at only 77.4 percent capacity and inflation was a minuscule 1 percent.

The combination of tax cuts and increased defense spending led to a decline in unemployment with only small increases in prices during 1965 and 1966. But as the economy reached full capacity in the 1967 and 1968

the continuation of deficit spending fueled an inflationary spiral.

Kennedy's advisors continued to attribute the success of the tax cut-deficit strategy purely to the correct application of Keynes' theory, but another factor contributed to its success: During the '60s, the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries were still experiencing a massive postwar boom. From 1960 to 1970, annual growth averaged about 6 percent. In this context, government fiscal policy simply served to redirect industry toward profitable investment outlets. A recession was a temporary disorientation caused by the vicissitudes of a capitalist economy.

But during the '70s, economic growth slackened throughout the West. From 1970 to 1978, it rose only 1.6 percent annually. This was primarily the result of excess capacity in key industries like steel, auto, textiles, ships and petrochemicals, which had helped trigger the boom. Advanced and newly industrialized coun-

tries could now produce more goods than it was profitable to sell. For instance, in the '50s only 14 countries were producing steel; by the '70s, 70 countries were.

As the economy became increasingly stagnant—incapable of sustained expansion—the governments and the banks desperately tried to arouse it by new injections of capital, credit and demand. It was like a sick person whose body becomes increasingly resistant to antibiotics and requires greater and greater doses, until the medicine itself becomes a source of illness.

Spiraling debt in the '70s—private debt tripled, while public debt doubled—undoubtedly stimulated some new investment and saved some companies, but in the presence of stagnant industries, it also fueled inflation and speculation. Inflation, which had usually accompanied rapid economic growth, became an impediment to growth—casting doubt over any long-term investments.

This new economy of the late '70s and '80s is completely different from that of the '50s or early '60s. With stagnant industry, growing debt and inflation, deficits can have a catastrophic effect. They leave the Federal Reserve and Treasury, which must finance them, with a no-win choice between further inflation or further unemployment.

One way to finance deficits is to monetize them. The Federal Reserve uses its notes (dollars) to buy up Treasury bonds. In this case, there is no new demand within bond markets and interest rates do not rise, but new dollars are injected into the economy. If these dollars do not lead to new production and investment—and often they do not—they will lead to speculation and inflation.

The two most pronounced bursts of inflation in the '70s coincided with years where the Fed monetized 25

percent or more of the budget deficit—56 percent in 1974 and 27 percent in 1979. In the late '70s, there were waves of speculation and corporate mergers.

The other course the Fed can take is to force the Treasury to sell its bonds in the private market. In 1980, it monetized only 7 percent of the debt, and in 1981 only 6 percent. This strategy bids up demand for credit in private markets and forces interest rates up. High interest rates do not necessarily discourage the biggest borrowers—Dupont, Mobil, and U.S. Steel can still take out loans to finance mergers—but high rates destroy the construction industry and industries like auto that depend on consumer credit. They soon lead to recession.

The Fed's strategy in 1980 and 1981, which is reasonable in terms of its mandate, has created the great paradox of post-boom fiscal policy: deficits, which once caused recoveries, now are as likely to cause recessions. This accounts for the change of heart even among die-hard Keynesians like Charles Schultze and James Tobin, who now find themselves opposing the Reagan deficits.

The alternatives.

The Reagan program is acknowledged to be disastrous by all except the dwindling fraternity of supply-side polemicists. But there is little agreement among Democrats and Republicans about the alternative to the Reagan tax cuts and deficits.

One group of traditional GOP economists, led by former Ford administration official Herbert Stein, has called for tax increases and further social spending cuts to fund the military budget and to hold down deficits. But as Reagan himself seemed to recognize, such a proposal is genuinely Hooveresque: It calls for cutting consumer demand and discouraging corporate investment during a period of high unemployment.

A group of Democratic economists, led by Tobin and Lester Thurow, has called for holding down inflation and the budget deficit by reducing military spending, making progressive rather than regressive budget cuts, instituting a progressive value-added-tax and installing a tax-based incomes policy that would reward firms for holding their prices and wages down. Meanwhile, these economists would encourage investment through an easier monetary policy.

While this fashionable "neo-liberal" policy is preferable to Reagan's or Stein's, it would not touch the basic malady of American industry. It has little to do with lack of savings or crowding out, as Thurow contends. The malady is caused by a lack of incentive to invest whatever savings firms have in expanding and renovating domestic production. "The savings argument is a complete phony," *Monthly Review* editor Harry Magdoff explained. "Look at U.S. Steel. What does it do with its savings. It buys Marathon Oil. The reason they don't invest is because of excess capacity."

It would seem that at least two steps are necessary to escape the current dilemma posed by deficit and industrial stagnation. First, as everyone from Sen. Paul Laxalt and *Fortune* to the left now agrees, the defense budget must be cut. It is not only a prime cause of the current deficits, but is also inherently inflationary and draws resources from civilian production and growth.

Second, the U.S. must undertake industrial planning aimed at ensuring that the substantial savings already available to corporations are used domestically for productive investments. Some Democrats are already talking privately of such an industrial policy, but it will never work—it will be sabotaged by corporate opposition—unless it has widespread public support behind it.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, fourth week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This issue (Vol. 6, No. 13) published February 17, 1982,
for newsstand sales February 17-23, 1982.

IN THESE TIMES



Reagan's budget cuts not only curtail much of the aid the cities need but also reduce disposable income in the poor neighborhoods.

Karen Mantio

Reagan's plan slights cities

By David Moberg

MAYBE THE "GREAT COMMUNICATOR" in the White House should be renamed the Great Prestidigitator. First there was his supply side legerdemain that has so far let little but unemployment trickle down to those who do not live in tax shelters. But with that trick no longer dazzling the crowds, now there is the equally entertaining sleight of hand known as the New Federalism.

The even-steven swap between the federal government and the states turns out not quite so numerically perfect as the White House first contended. Budget Director David Stockman has admitted that inequities would eventually develop between states. But researchers at AFS-CME, the public employee union, note that every state will be a loser right away. In calculating the exchange, the White House did not take into account its proposed cuts in Medicaid, thus overstating its share. On the other hand, it did assume all of its proposed cuts in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps and 43 other programs for social services, transportation, community development, education and low-income energy assistance would be approved, understating the burden of the states.

Correcting for that fast shuffle and for inflation, AFS-CME concluded that the net annual cost to the states would be over \$17 billion by 1984 and \$86 billion by 1991 to maintain the current level of services.

The real point of the new federalism—despite the conservative rhetoric about states rights—is precisely a reduction of that current level of services, not only through direct cuts now, but also through a competitive downward bidding war among states eager to maintain a congenial "business climate."

Impressive as that disappearing rabbit

may be, Reagan the Magician had another in his new repertoire that would have made Houdini envious. After devastating the cities with his budget cuts, and adding proportionately deeper wounds to the old northern cities with the bloated military budget, he has proposed as his sole program for revitalizing the depressed center cities the experimental designation of 25 impoverished areas as urban enterprise zones.

Concocted in 1977 by a disillusioned English Fabian-style socialist and a conservative member of Thatcher's cabinet, the enterprise zone was conceived as a miniature Hong Kong set in the decaying cities of advanced capitalist nations. There, with an old laissez-faire vigor and ruthlessness unimpeded by taxes or government regulation, business would blossom and the cities thrive again.

Of the several enterprise zone proposals introduced in Congress, the most prominent is the one sponsored by conservative Rep. Jack Kemp of Buffalo and liberal Rep. Robert Garcia of the South Bronx. In their plan, 10 to 25 poor, urban neighborhoods would be designated enterprise zones after local and state governments had shown willingness to aid development with special services or tax and regulatory cuts.

Businesses would get a 5 percent refundable tax credit for hiring local poor people, a reprieve from any capital gains tax and, at first, a 50 percent reduction in business income tax. Employees would get a 5 percent refundable tax credit. Banks and outside investors would also share in the 50 percent tax reduction on interest or dividends from zone investments. There would be an additional credit for low-income housing.

Reagan's proposal, still being drafted, will probably have a higher tax credit for employers but not make them refundable. The White House is also weighing an optional waiver of the minimum wage for teenagers.

But as the debate heats up over the pre-

cise provisions, it is easy to forget the context of this bill—estimated to cost \$310 million in foregone taxes the first year, \$930 million by the third. By contrast, adding last year's cuts and this year's administration proposals yields the following reductions in programs that are crucial not only for the poor residents of big cities but also for the development of businesses there:

- 84 percent cut in CETA employment and training;
- 42 percent in sewage treatment grants;
- 45 percent in low-income energy assistance;
- 49 percent in urban development action grants;
- 44 percent in mass transit and non-interstate highway funds;
- 67 percent in elementary and secondary school aid and;
- 50 percent in vocational and adult education.

An unconscionable swap.

"By holding this concept of enterprise zones up as a positive program," argues Roger Vaughan, deputy director of the New York state office of development planning, "you're allowing the president to exchange the cuts from this year plus \$35 billion from last year out of programs to help low-income households and low-income communities for a very limited, targeted \$300 million in tax incentives to the private sector. That kind of swap is unconscionable."

Life really is unfair. But the problem is not just callousness and inequity. The cuts also hurt private business growth in the cities.

The enterprise zone plan is "a bunch of symbolic nonsense," says political scientist John Mollenkopf, former director of urban development and economic planning for New York City. For example, the heart of the plan consists of tax incentives. In a recent study for the Council of State Planning Agencies,

economist Michael Kieschnick concluded that "tax differences or tax incentives play at best a small role in location decisions for most firms."

Kieschnick's study shows that for businesses access to markets or raw materials, personal reasons, availability of capital, supply of skilled labor, transportation and other reasons are all more important than taxes in location decisions. The civil environment—particularly crime—weighs heavily in central city business location decisions. What businesses want and need is not less government, but more—and more effective—government to be able to develop in poor city areas.

Herbert Trader, president of City Venture Corporation, a for-profit urban revitalization consortium, told Congress recently that business really needed improved physical environment and local services, vocational training, services for employees such as health, day care and education, and a government reinsurance plant to guarantee property and casualty coverage.

The enterprise zone addresses virtually none of the major problems for inner-city economic development. New, small businesses need capital, but the bill won't make banks or investors change their lending practices. Reagan's non-refundable tax credits in particular are of little use to new businesses making little profit and paying no tax. Indeed, with the tax bill passed last year, Vaughan observes, "companies making substantial investment do not face a federal tax bill. You're not really offering them anything by offering tax credits." The budget cuts not only curtail much of the aid really needed but also reduce disposable income in the poor neighborhoods, further shrinking the local market and raising the likelihood of crime.

The enterprise zone is impractical because it is an ideologist's daydream based on the conviction that the only thing hampering capitalism is taxation and government regulation. But as Mollenkopf observes, "the reasons businesses left areas likely to be enterprise zones have nothing to do with tax policy. The medicine does not fit the cure."

Continued on page 6

INSHORT

Unions dump formula

At a widely unreported meeting last month, union representatives for the first time talked strategy with organizers of the Nestle boycott. Keynote speaker Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild, promised the 40 or so people in attendance that he would seek his union's support for the boycott, which was recently endorsed by the Newspaper Guild, the Steelworkers, the Professional and Technical Engineers and District 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees. Taking into account past endorsements by 11 AFL-CIO unions and the National Education Association, boycott leaders have been thinking optimistically of forcing Nestle to the bargaining table this year. (The Swiss-based company has continued to promote the sale of its infant formula in the third world, despite reports of malnutrition and disease among infants who are fed the formula.)

Last month's meeting, which was held at the Washington home of former senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa), also featured speeches by Friar Robert Drinan, president of Americans for Democratic Action, Millie Jeffries of the National Women's Political Caucus and Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa). Harkin is sponsoring a bill (HR4535) that would eliminate the federal tax write-offs of sales campaigns by companies that, like Nestle, violate the World Health Organization Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes. Doug Johnson, national chair of the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT), called labor's growing role in the boycott "a tremendous boost." (INFACT can be reached at 1701 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414; (612) 331-2333.)

Media mad

The 28,000 member Society of Professional Journalists, reports PNS, has handed President Reagan a failing grade on just about every issue involving openness in government. The society, also known as Sigma Delta Chi, says the administration "consistently took actions last year that would restrict the flow of information about the federal government to the people who pay for it." Among the actions arousing the society's ire: the administration's efforts to weaken the Freedom of Information Act, its backing of a bill that could subject journalists to jail terms for revealing the names of CIA agents and its tightening of rules concerning classified material. Calling these and other moves "a fundamental assault on the First Amendment," the journalists concluded that "people are hardly in a position to hold their government accountable if they are prevented from learning what it is doing."

DoD at U of M

At the University of Michigan, there is a campus prohibition against research "any purpose of which" is the destruction of human life. Last month, a report delivered to the university's student government charged that researchers funded by the Department of Defense are violating the rule. "U of M scientists are doing research here which the Pentagon will use to develop new weapons systems," said Bret Eynon, a local historian brought in by the Michigan Student Assembly to investigate the issue. Eynon told the assembly that the scientists were violating "the spirit, if not the letter" of guidelines passed by the school's Regents in 1972.

Eynon's 23-page report described several DoD-funded projects in depth, including ones that he said will contribute to the development of deadlier guided missiles, new explosive weapons and high-speed "attack" submarines. "The Pentagon is buying technical expertise from U of M," he said, "and it buys what it thinks it needs in order to wage modern war." His report criticized an earlier study of campus military research, conducted by the university's Research Policies Committee, as "inaccurate, incomplete and misleading."

The students liked what they heard from the historian. "We cannot simply say that this research violates guidelines," said assembly member Dan Perlman. "We must take a moral position against it."

Polls and prayers

When it comes to helping the needy, there's a lot in a name. Last summer, reports the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (via PNS), a government-sponsored poll presented 1,000 people with a list of programs and asked which should bear the brunt of state and local budget cuts. Thirty-nine percent selected "public welfare programs." But when the poll was repeated two months later, with the term "public welfare programs" replaced by "aid to the needy," only 9 percent of the respondents wanted to ax the "aid." "It is possible," said the pollsters, "that the public perception of 'needy' is so altruistic, and the term 'public welfare' so negative, that each produces an overreaction." Those pollsters are always 50 percent right....In case you were wondering why people fall so easily for Falwell and his ilk, see the *Washington Post* article on a frightening reaction to ABC's Feb. 1 broadcast of *Pray TV*, the fictional story of a TV evangelist. The show included a phony "800" number to call for help from (actor) Ned Beatty's make-believe church. According to the network, 15,000 people called in. They still need help.

—Josh Kornbluth



The numbers game: Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, testified in Congress that El Salvador has made "substantial progress" in human rights and discounted reports that government troops there had recently massacred hundreds of civilians (IN THESE TIMES, Feb. 10). Sydney H. Schanberg's Feb. 6 column in the NEW YORK TIMES described how Enders, while supervising the illegal bombing of Cambodia, tried to cover up nearly 200 casualties—"first by sending an aide to tell the press corps that the death toll was probably only 25 but certainly no more than 65, then by issuing orders to block reporters from getting to the town...."

Sorry, Ronnie—Europe wants shows with taste

PARIS—Because Europeans were invited to take part in Reagan's TV show on Poland, his chief propagandist, Charles Wick, reportedly tried to achieve "good taste." So there was Ronald Reagan comparing himself to Lech Walesa (Ronnie, too, was a labor leader before he grew up) and the spokesman for the Turkish military dictatorship condemning the military dictatorship in Poland.

Out of consideration for everyone, and especially for their own heads of state bullied into lending themselves to the wretched farce, European networks cut out some of the most embarrassing parts, such as Bob Hope. Only the Dutch dared say no to the whole business. The few Europeans who subjected themselves to the boredom could only conclude from the spectacle that real live Poland, like Europe in general, is of little interest to the Reagan folks.

In between standup comedians and seated heads of state, Poland was displayed by mechanically flipping through a series of static postcard photos of the "old country"....or were those blond children with flowers and gnarled grannies in scarves "the people," straight from socialist realism? Judging from the style adopted, Wick and colleagues think Soviet

propaganda is very successful. They are wrong.

—Diana Johnstone

A notable race to the Finnish

COPENHAGEN—In an unprecedented display of confidence, Finns have selected their first Social Democrat as president. Mauno Koivisto, who won 55 percent of the electoral vote, is a hard-working statesman, intellectual and former longshoreman. The Jan. 26 election marked the first time in Finland's history as an independent nation that a president has won an absolute majority (86 percent of the electorate voted).

Koivisto, 58, replaces Urko Kekkonen, who retired last September at age 80 after 26 uninterrupted years as president. Kekkonen had twice appointed Koivisto as his prime minister, as well as finance minister and director of the national bank. Koivisto acted as president after the ailing Kekkonen, known for his delicate diplomacy with the neighboring Soviet Union, stepped down.

Despite the new leader's youthful squabbles with Finland's pro-Soviet Communist

Party, both the CP and the Soviets were pleased with his victory. Koivisto is not expected to alter his nation's close economic relations with the USSR or its neutral foreign policy. How far toward a socialist economy the worker's candidate will take Finland is an open question; the answer may be clearer after the parliamentary election in 1983.

—Ron Ridenour

Egypt is back to the USSR

PARIS—Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak's cautious move to restore minimal relations with the Soviet Union is dictated by domestic needs, according to Egyptian opposition figures here. It implies no foreign policy shift beyond simple recognition that the Reagan administration's notion of a "strategic consensus" against the USSR in the Middle East makes no sense.

Ten years ago, Anwar Sadat threw out thousands of Soviet technicians who had been invited to build Nasser's state capitalism. Sadat then staked Egypt's development on the *Infitah* policy of opening the country to American (and eventually Israeli) private capital. The result was widespread corruption, an economy geared to profitable luxury consumer goods, neglect of the vital needs of the poor majority and glaring inequalities. As in other times and places, religious fundamentalist puritanism thrived in such conditions. To head off more political expressions of outrage, Sadat encouraged the Islamic extremists as they increasingly imposed their puritanical codes on women, the schools and the legal system.

Since Sadat's assassination, Egyptians have been reverting to their usual, more easygoing ways. Mubarak urges all modernist political currents to rally to the combat against obscurantism. But avoiding the plague of religious extremism requires a change in economic policy.

Mubarak seems ready to follow economist Ali Gattli's "liberal socialism," distinct from both Nasser's state capitalism and Sadat's subsidized private capitalism. Gattli is for retooling state industry, as part of a program to encourage labor-intensive industry in order to provide jobs for young men and the growing number of young women who also want to work. Mubarak announced Jan. 28, on the eve of his tour of Western capitals, that Egypt would let 66 Soviet technicians come back to work on construction projects. Egyptians emphasize that Soviet technicians are much less expensive than American ones.

Mubarak has called restoration of diplomatic relations with Moscow "inevitable" and has withdrawn Egyptian troops that Sadat had massed menacingly on the Libyan border. If Egypt can make peace with Israel, says Mubarak, then it can certainly make peace with its Arab neighbors. So the new Egyptian president has dropped Sadat's unrealistic and (to many Egyptians) scandalous aspiration to turn Egypt into regional gendarme for the U.S.

—Diana Johnstone

GUN CONTROL

Debate fires up in Chicago

By Jay Walljasper

CHICAGO

AFTER MANY YEARS OF HEATED debate with few concrete results, gun control seems to have reached maturity as a political issue. Public shock last year at the shootings of John Lennon and Ronald Reagan revived the gun control movement, setting the stage for a first decisive victory—a handgun ban in the Chicago suburb of Morton Grove that went into effect on Feb. 1.

"Morton Grove has turned the issue around," according to Paul Levrakas, field coordinator for the National Committee to Ban Handguns. "The NRA (National Rifle Association) has dominated the issue for years. They don't know what to do now that people in communities across the country are talking about gun control."

Chicago is now embroiled in debate over a proposed freeze on handgun registration, with predictable opposition coming from the NRA and other gun owner groups, but also from some blacks who fear it may lead to increased police harassment.

Morton Grove's ban, passed by the village trustees in June and recently upheld by both state and federal courts, came just as the momentum of public opinion in favor of gun control sparked by the shootings of Lennon and Reagan was flagging. Every shooting of a public figure since the assassination of John F. Kennedy has been followed by a public outcry for gun control and each has faded in the face of the NRA's formidable political strength. But the action in Morton Grove proves that gun owner's lobby groups are not invincible, at least not on the municipal level.

"I don't think people understood until now," Levrakas said, "that you have to organize on the grassroots level for this issue just like any other."

In the wake of the Morton Grove ban, many other communities are considering gun control legislation. Jim Sloan, Morton Grove's assistant village manager, said he has received more than 100 requests for copies of the ordinance from city officials in the Midwest, East and California.

Four state legislatures—Wisconsin, Maryland, Massachusetts and New York—are also considering changes in their gun control laws. In California, a petition drive is underway to put a proposal on the ballot this fall to enact a freeze on handgun ownership. And in San Francisco officials are considering action on their own. East St. Louis, Ill., recently prohibited the sale of handguns and at least eight other municipalities in the state besides Chicago are looking into handgun restrictions.

Caught off guard.

Morton Grove's action actually came as a surprise to both gun control proponents and opponents in Illinois. Last spring, several businessmen proposed opening a gun shop in the suburb, thinking there would be few objections in a mixed white- and blue-collar town of 24,000 that gave a majority of its votes to Reagan in 1980. But a group of parents living in the neighborhood near the shopping center where the store was to be located didn't like the idea and took their protests to a meeting of the village trustees.

To keep the gunshop out of Morton Grove, one of the trustees proposed a ban on the sale of firearms just as the nearby city of Evanston had done several years earlier. Then Trustee Neil Cashman suggested a complete ban on handguns. The trustees instructed the village attorney to research and draft such an ordinance, and that was when they discovered that no other city in the country had a ban on handguns.

Meanwhile, word spread quickly about what Morton Grove was up to. A Chicago area gun control group organized a demonstration in favor of the ordinance and some gun owners mounted a phone campaign against it. On June 8, when the trustees were scheduled to vote on the new law, members of the NRA and Illinois State Rifle Association showed up at the meeting *en masse* along with reporters and network TV crews. After several hours of emotional testimony, the ordinance passed 4 to 2.

But the gun lobby didn't surrender without a fight. They immediately pushed a bill through the Illinois House of Representatives that would preempt the

Association, said an amendment to the Illinois Constitution protecting the rights of gun owners is being proposed. He added that the bill preempting municipal bans on gun ownership will also be reintroduced in the state legislature this year.

Similar state laws voided a handgun ban passed last year in Friendship Heights, Md., and might affect any local gun control efforts in San Francisco. The California law prohibits municipalities from licensing and registering firearms but makes no mention of outright bans.

Chicago freeze.

In Chicago, the City Council is considering a freeze on handguns, similar to a law

the police as criminals. There is a reign of terror in the black community."

Meek maintains that guns are a necessary tool in combating political oppression, mentioning Poland and El Salvador as prime examples. This point of view has often been heard on the left, especially in the late '60s when the gun control issue divided the disciples of nonviolence from militants who argued that guns are necessary for self-defense.

Other black leaders endorse the ordinance, including Chicago Urban League President James Compton and Rev. Jesse Jackson, who sees it as a part of the worldwide campaign for disarmament.

Speaking at a city council committee meeting amid occasional boos from the gallery, Leon Finney—the black president of The Woodlawn Organization, a neighborhood association on the city's south side—said that 16 of 18 murders in the Woodlawn area over the last eight years were committed with handguns.

"It's a proven fact that blacks are the No. 1 victims of handguns," he said, "especially considering the phenomena



**WHAT WAS I TO THINK?... WE CAME HOME AND FOUND OUR FURNITURE
BROKEN... PORRIDGE ALL OVER THE FLOOR... AND THEN BABY
BEAR SAW SOMETHING MOVING UNDER THE BLANKETS...**

right of municipalities to control gun ownership. But the measure was later killed in the Illinois Senate on a technicality.

The constitutionality of Morton Grove's ordinance was also challenged by gun groups that claimed it violated the Second Amendment "right to bear arms." A federal judge ruled on Dec. 29 that the Constitution refers to the right of state militias to bear arms, not individual citizens. And on Jan. 29, a Cook County Circuit judge found the ordinance was not in violation of the Illinois State Constitution, in the case that the NRA thought that it had the best chance of winning. Two days later, the ban went into effect.

The first few days of enforcement turned up no violators, who could have been slapped with fines up to \$500 if convicted. (Morton Grove gun owners had the option of storing their operable handguns at gun clubs or outside the city limits.) That didn't surprise Assistant Village Manager Sloan, who explained, "We are not going to be sending police into homes looking for handguns. They will be treated like any other contraband substance. If police find them on a routine search, the law will be enforced."

But gun owner's organizations are still confident they can get the ordinance overturned. Besides appealing the two court decisions, James Valentino, legislative chairman for the Illinois State Rifle

passed in the District of Columbia in 1977. The proposal, strenuously backed by Mayor Jane Byrne, would keep the city's number of legal handguns at 430,000 by not allowing any new ones to be registered. In addition, gun owners would have to re-register their arms each year rather than just once as the current law stipulates. A rigorous police screening of all gun owners and stiff registration fees are also a part of the proposal, but Edward Burke, the alderman sponsoring the bill along with Byrne, said those provisions might be deleted in the final version of the ordinance.

Besides the gun owners' organizations—whose members attend the hearings wearing yellow ribbons to imply that they are being held hostage—objections to the handgun freeze have come from Chicago blacks. Rev. Russell Meek—president of Search for Truth, a religious, educational and political organization in the black community—cited a poll of 205 black leaders, conducted by the Chicago *Daily Defender* newspaper and Chicago State University, that showed 68 percent favored private ownership of guns. The poll also found that 50 percent of those interviewed had been threatened at least once with a gun—a third of them by police officers.

"If you are not free," Meek added, "you never allow anyone to disarm you. We live in the area with the highest crime.... We are just as much a victim of

of black-on-black crime.... And it should be no surprise that urban unrest will increase given the current economic climate.

"We are no longer a frontier society. We have to realize that we can no longer look to guns for instant justice."

Finney was joined by Rev. George Riddick, staff vice president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), who testified that the ordinance should be implemented together with programs that would curb police harassment of minorities and ensure that civil liberties are not violated in the gun registration process.

"This ordinance can set an example," Finney said, "that will have an effect on Congress."

That is the ultimate hope of most gun control supporters in Illinois, who realize that restrictions in their own cities are less effective when handguns can still be legally purchased elsewhere. They believe that action in places like Morton Grove and Chicago will send this message to legislators in the state capital and Washington (where the Kennedy-Rodino bill to put limits on handgun sales will be introduced again this year): Handgun control is now a viable issue and all the political clout is not on the NRA's side anymore.

Jay Walljasper is a freelance journalist whose stories have appeared in several Midwestern publications.

Zones

Continued from page 3

With the right incentives tailored to specific ends, the apologists argue (in an argument that sounds suspiciously like government planning for such a free enterprise notion), the zones could work. Sure, theoretically if generous enough they could cause economic development, but what kind, consultant Michael Barker asks. For example, the government could simply abolish the federal income tax for anyone living in the area. Then the South Bronx would be wall-to-wall luxury condos.

That whimsical example illustrates how even if the zones succeeded in one sense they could fail in others. For example:

- Would businesses simply shift from another part of the city, robbing Brooklyn to pay the Bronx?
- Would businesses be drained from areas just beyond the zone's "green line" to produce a "brown edge"?
- Would business and property owners engage in get-rich-quick land speculation and high business turnover?
- Would the businesses attracted mainly be warehouse units of profitable firms seeking tax advantages of little use to small businesses and yielding few jobs?
- Would success displace residents, drive up rents and thus undercut gains for both residents and businesses?

Vaughan predicts that the companies most attracted to an enterprise zone would be "low-profit, low-paying, sweatshop operations that are footloose, which is not any way of resolving the problem of supporting neighborhoods for the long term." William Goldsmith, professor of city and regional planning at Cornell University, thinks that the zones—if successful—would fare no better than their models, Puerto Rico or Malaysia. If wages rise, businesses flee. True development is thus stymied when the original appeal is simply made on low wages—or tax breaks.

Even the advocates will not hazard a



No program for the cities can succeed without a program for the entire economy.

guess on the number of jobs that might result or the cost-benefit ratio, something they demand of all business regulation. Rather, their argument goes simply: all government programs have failed, so why not give this a try?

But, of course, many government programs failed because they were inadequately funded or did not directly challenge private investment decisions. Even those that did work fairly well, such as job training, fell apart as unemployment rose and experienced workers were thrown into the job market, as urban economist William Tabb observes. The Reagan recession—like the budget cuts—lessens the chance of any urban strategy, including his enterprise zones.

There is a logic of desperation to the enterprise zones. They are designed for "areas where there's nothing left to lose," one of Kemp's aides explained. A few liberals and black groups, like the NAACP, the Urban Coalition and the Urban League, have cautiously endorsed the concept. "You're almost compelled to support this because it's the only thing out there," Maudine Cooper, the Urban League vice president for Washington operations, says resignedly. "But the support lessens as it appears that this is the

only program that this administration is putting forth." Blacks and liberals oppose abolishing the minimum wage and government regulation, but their support for a less draconian plan could still pit them against the labor movement, which opposes enterprise zones.

A smoke screen?

Many in labor and on the left fear that enterprise zones are the latest model Trojan horse. "They are interested in, under the guise of creating jobs for cities, beginning to erode workplace regulations," Bennett Harrison of MIT argues. Nearly as bad, Michael Barker says, the smoke and noise from the zone debate distracts people from considering productive alternatives.

There are alternatives on the left but no political vehicle for them. Direct government intervention is dismissed by too many experts and pundits with a fashionable and facile, "Oh, we tried that, and it doesn't work."

Nevertheless, just before Reagan announced his budget, AFSCME gamely unveiled a program for housing, public transportation, railroads, mass transit, energy conservation, job training and an Economic Development Bank. Not a cure-all but solid and worthwhile; it would cost \$24 billion, easily financed by repealing a few of the most egregious business tax breaks from last year.

Traditional public works on city streets, transit, bridges, sewers and the like would fill a double need. Cooperatives—possibly even turning would-be enterprise zones into a general stock ownership corporation under control of the residents as Corey Rosen of the National Center for Employee Ownership suggests—could directly benefit neighborhoods and provide needed services like weatherization and day care.

The burned-out quarters in the cities are not a problem unto themselves, of course, but the most violent and obvious manifestations of problems of a system of private investment decisions, capital mobility and racial discrimination that is also in the throes of worldwide change. Ultimately, no program for the cities can succeed without a program—call it planning or "industrial policy"—for the entire economy.

Even the Master Prestidigitator will have a hard time making a larger dose of the plague of the cities—unrestrained and irresponsible private enterprise—seem to be their cure.

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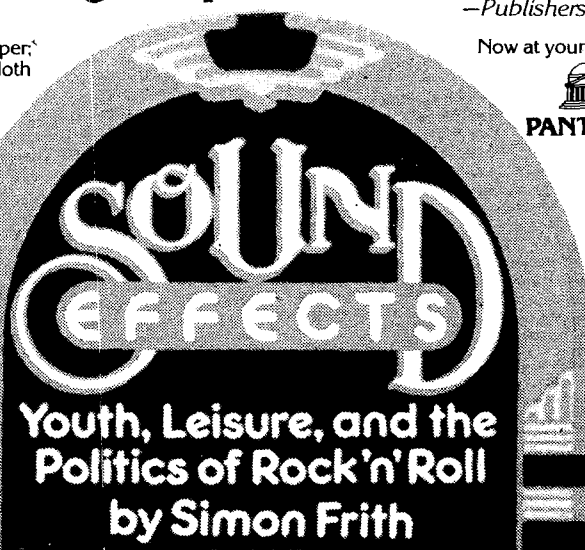
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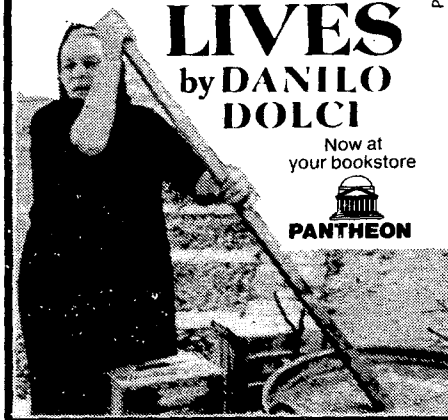


Photo: Leonard Freed

EL SALVADOR

Refugees denied asylum

By Renny Golden

CHICAGO

NIGHTFALL, WITH ITS DREAMS of horror, terrifies Salvadoran refugees in the U.S., but daytime brings more anxiety. One mistake, one traffic ticket can result in deportation and death.

When Santana Chirino Amaya received a traffic ticket he begged Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials not to return him to his war-torn country. But he was deported, for the second time, by INS, and a month later his decapitated body was found at a crossroads known as the "Road of Death" because of the Salvadoran patrols in the area. Amaya was 24 years old. He is one of the few Salvadoran deportees whose murder has been documented in an effort to disprove State Department and INS claims that Salvadorans are not political refugees.

In 1980, no Salvadorans were granted political refugee status in the U.S. In all, 11,792 were deported. In 1981, two of 3,559 applications for political asylum were granted.

The National Center for Immigration Rights believes statements made by the directors of the detention camps in California and Texas may be the basis for a legal challenge to INS deportation proceedings. For example, the director of the El Paso detention camps, Dan McDonald, has said, "they are looking for jobs, and the only reason they fear going back is because jobs are hard to find down there. Sure there's violence and they want to escape it, but that doesn't mean they are political." McDonald also said, "From the moment we pick them up the illegals are given every opportunity to apply for political asylum. Each is routinely informed of their rights."

But Susan Ozesh, an immigration lawyer who toured the Texas detention camps in January 1981, says this is not the case. Her interviews both with immigration lawyers and refugees indicate that 90 percent of those sent back to El Salvador as voluntary departures have signed forms written in English, unaware that they are committing themselves to returning to El Salvador and to paying their own way. Refugees who can read the forms, or those who challenge INS, are told to sign because Reagan won't grant political asylum, and they'll have to remain in a detention camp for six months and be sent back anyway.

INS now sends an average of 100 refugees back to El Salvador each week. Every morning in Los Angeles, INS loads between 10 and 75 refugees on a plane that will be met by soldiers at El Salvador International Airport.

In an effort to save Salvadoran refugees from such fate, the Manzo Area Council and the Tucson Ecumenical Council raised \$50,000 in cash and \$300,000 in collateral to bail out refugees kept in the infamous El Centro detention camp. One released trade unionist expressed deep gratitude. "If we returned to our country," he said, "we would be tortured, called traitors and murdered for the simple act of coming here."

Refugees in Central America.

One reason for the increase in the number of Salvadoran refugees is the displacement of as many as 30,000 refugees from church and humanitarian aid camps in Honduras. The plan to move the camps into the interior of Honduras is just beginning, under the scrutiny of international observers. Recently an emergency delegation from Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) went to La Virtud refugee camp in Honduras. Before the eyes of the stunned observers, a group of men in "civilian" dress marched 20 weeping Salvadorans out of the camp. The Dellums delegation, though unable to con-

vince the local Honduran military post to intervene, did help to save the refugees' lives. Robert Bauer, an aide to Dellums, said the delegation was convinced that the civilian-dressed kidnappers were Salvadoran soldiers.

A recent U.S. ecumenical delegation to Honduran refugee camps, which was requested by the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador and the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, reports other forms of military collaboration that are jeopardizing refugees' lives.

First there is collaboration between Honduran military personnel and the military personnel of Argentina and Chile. The commander of the Honduran police has recently returned from training in Argentina. Honduran police officers have also received training from Chilean advisors and police who teach at the Honduran police academy. Second, there is the U.S. State Department and Pentagon decision to send 21 military advisors, including six Green Berets, to Honduras in early August 1981. Three of the Green Berets, all

Vietnam veterans, had been seen working in the refugee camp at La Virtud. The official purpose of these advisors was to collaborate with the Honduran soldiers in a "community relations" program at the border. But the ecumenical delegation claims that "increased security restrictions at the Colomancagua and La Virtud camps, which began around mid-September, appear to be linked to security assessments and recommendations made by U.S. advisors."

On the national scene, religious groups and legal aid groups are mounting a campaign to demand that the State Department extend voluntary departure status with employment authorization to Salvadoran refugees. Extended voluntary departure status allows refugees to stay in the U.S. until the war in their country has ceased.

Renny Golden is a member of the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador.

Many of the refugees in the U.S. have been displaced from camps in Honduras, such as La Virtud camp (below).



Rick Reinhard 1981

COSTA RICA

The president-elect promises no miracles

By Nelson Santana

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

THE COSTA RICANS MAY CLOSE their bars on the weekend of their national elections, but exuberance runs high anyway. By Feb. 7 the country was striped with the green-and-white banner of the triumphant National Liberation Party and covered with the image of the dour, pudgy president-elect, Luis Alberto Monge.

City streets were jammed with hundreds of cars honking out the insistent rhythms of their candidate's names. Panicked with a grave economic crisis and rattled by the violence of the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala, Costa Ricans perceived the elections as reassurance that they are different.

But the manic jubilation of the campaign subsided before the final votes were counted because the initial headlines following the election warned Monge "promised no miracles." The disaster of the economy and Costa Rica's prospective role in the Central American region-wide upheaval have been woven together in a vague web of anxiety known as "the crisis."

Costa Ricans have enjoyed the good life ever since the civil war of 1948, when Don Pepe Figueres, the godfather of the Liberation Party, took power. He dissolved the army and laid the groundwork for a government that provided then-unheard of social reforms and built up an infrastructure of roads, tele-

phones and electrical power to attract foreign investors and make Costa Rica the envy of Central America.

But the country's prosperity was partially based on a huge foreign debt, and by 1980 the economy was in crisis. The rising oil prices and falling coffee prices following 1978 are largely blamed for the crash, but economic mismanagement by the outgoing Carazo administration and the regional economic crisis also played a part. Costa Rica suddenly achieved the highest foreign debt per capita in the world—more than \$4 billion for a population of only 2.2 million—while the national currency lost half its value over a year and inflation approached 75 percent.

After more than three decades of living in relative ease, the Costa Ricans are reluctantly resigned to the idea of austerity. "What you've had here was the 'demonstration effect,'" noted Rodolfo Silva, a leader in the Liberation Party. "One effect of our 90 percent literacy rate and the developed social services is that our people know about the standard of living in the U.S., and have chosen to emulate the consumer society."

The incoming administration has not announced its plans for remedying the situation, but the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has laid down a strict set of conditions for helping the country renegotiate its loans. Among the suggested measures are cutting back on social services, reducing oil imports and stepping up agricultural production.

The economic pressure will make the Monge government especially suscep-

tible to political pressure from the U.S. and there are indications that such pressure has already begun. The National Liberation Party is part of the conservative wing of the Socialist International. "Monge started out the campaign as a social democrat," noted one local resident, "but as the election neared he became a lot less social and a lot more plain democrat."

Undoubtedly, much of the pressure will be applied to Costa Rica's foreign policy. Over the last year, the reigning administration has tread the seemingly contradictory line of supporting both the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the Duarte government in El Salvador, while abruptly cutting off diplomatic relations with Cuba. A burgeoning San Jose black market in arms supplied the Sandinistas until their 1979 victory. Though it led to the scandalous dismissal of several government ministers, the arms market still appears to be servicing other Central American revolutionary movements.

But perhaps the most interesting test of the Monge government will be its reaction to the implementation of the 1948 Rio Treaty of reciprocal military assistance. The TIAR, as it ultimately became known, is being advanced primarily by the U.S. and Argentina as the means to introduce an inter-American "peacekeeping force" in El Salvador and possibly Nicaragua. Costa Rica's lack of a standing army could exempt it from sending troops, but its acquiescence could be essential to getting this type of action cleared by the Organization of American States or the Inter-American Defense Board.

Monge waffled on this question at his post-election press conference. But his general tone seemed to imply that he would back the treaty as long as Costa Rica itself "would not be implicated in military conflicts—for this the people would not accept."

Nelson Santana reports on Central American affairs.

By Dick Dahl

Photos by Jean Pieri/City Pages



MINNEAPOLIS

NINETY-ONE YEARS AGO, JAMES Naismith came up with an idea that would place his name in the history books and his town on the map.

An instructor at the Springfield, Mass., Young Men's Christian Association training school, Naismith could plainly see that his students were bored with the marching, calisthenics and apparatus work required of them in gym classes. A sensitive man, he saw that something was needed to appeal to their play instincts. Naismith invented the game of basketball. Its impact has left an indelible mark on Springfield.

Because of its distinction as the birthplace of basketball, the city is the site of the game's Hall of Fame, built on the campus of Springfield College in 1968. So each year the city attracts at least one National Basketball Association game and one major college tournament. There is no escaping the influence of basketball in the area, and being named the best high-school basketball player the city has ever produced is no small accomplishment.

In the eyes of many longtime sports watchers there, that distinction belongs to Mark Hall, a 1978 graduate of Commerce High School. Since 1978, Hall has been a basketball standout for the University of Minnesota, named three times as an honorable-mention candidate on the Big 10 All-Conference team.

But for the last month, Hall has been a standout for another reason: Ineligible to play basketball because of poor grades, Hall has attracted attention by filing a lawsuit against the university. He claims that this disqualification in his senior year will impair his chances of being signed to a pro basketball contract. In an equally astounding move, U.S. District Court Judge Miles Lord issued a temporary injunction allowing Hall to play because he "was recruited to come to the University of Minnesota to be a basketball player and not a scholar."

Hall has never pretended to be interested in school, has never betrayed his dream of playing pro ball. He was nine years old when the Hall of Fame came to Springfield. Even then he was in love with the game, dreaming of the day his portrait would be in the Hall of Fame just like those of Elgin Baylor, Bob Pettit and Bill Russell. As he grew older, Hall's love became a passion.

When he became a fabulously successful high-school basketball player his passion became an obsession. As a sophomore, he was a starting guard and became better and better as the season went on. In playoff games, he was phenomenal, scoring 33, 39, 42 and 44 points in consecutive games against the best teams in the state. As a junior, he averaged 25.2 points per game and as a senior in 1978 he averaged 29.3. Each year, Springfield Commerce won the state championship in its division.

Hall was the greatest basketball player the school, and perhaps the city, had ever produced. Yet the school administration refused him the honor of retiring his jersey number. There is no mystery about the motive for the snub. It was no secret at Springfield Commerce that Hall was a horrible student. What's worse, he made little effort to improve himself academically. And some people thought he was cocky.

Yet poor student or not, major universities across the land were interested in giving Hall four free years of education if he would consent to play basketball for them. The winner was the University of Minnesota, a school whose team had been successful over the last decade because of diligent recruitment of talented black players from the Northeast and Florida. Meanwhile, the Big 10 conference had developed into one of the best college basketball conferences in the nation.

In April 1978, Hall signed a letter of intent to play four years of basketball at the university. The tender, the basis by which Hall subsequently would come to sue the university for breach of contract,

surprised many people around Springfield who remembered Hall's academic record.

What they didn't know is that it is not difficult to be admitted to the university's "open admissions" unit known as the General College. Like many athletes at the school, Hall enrolled in the College, which requires only a high-school diploma and "an interest in college work" for admission. It is popular with athletes, offering them a way to get into college and work on specific academic impediments. If they aren't college material when they are admitted, they might be by the time they must declare a major or design a four-year baccalaureat program within General College.

That point is reached when a student is nearing the accumulation of 90 credit hours of work. A minimum of a C (2.0) average is required for degree-granting programs. At the end of three years of school, Hall had accumulated 96 credits and a grade point average of 1.44. To be eligible, he needed a 1.95 GPA, 117 credits and admission into a degree-granting program.

He applied to General College for a self-directed degree having something to do with urban playground recreation. His application was rejected.

There was no doubt about it. Mark Hall was not college material. But his dream of pro basketball was stronger than ever. If he could play this year, he figured, he could be a second-round pick in the NBA draft. A second-round selection usually ensures a no-cut contract for at least one year. By not playing this year, his chances would be greatly diminished.

Things were looking grim. But Hall—or someone—spotted an opening. Minnesota has an 11-year program known as University Without Walls (UWW), designed for self-directed adult learners who want to resume or start a college career and combine it with work experience. So individualized and unstructured is UWW that it has no GPA requirements. Hall submitted an application to the UWW admissions committee, saying he wanted to design a program in urban playground recreation. As a matter of course, the committee accepts applicants and places them on probation for one quarter.

So Hall was accepted. But one day acting UWW director Karla Klinger phoned General College Dean Jeanne Lupton for information about Hall. Lupton told Klinger that Hall was "one of the poorest students we've ever seen" and was not worth probation. After all, Hall had not even taken advantage of the General College's nationally famous reading program—and Hall is a very poor reader.

The committee's decision was overturned, providing the legal loophole Hall so badly needed. In the course of the court hearing, it surfaced that a UWW admissions committee decision had never before been overturned by a UWW director. Meanwhile, Hall had accomplished something that bordered on the unbelievable. He took 30 credits of "correspondence" courses from the university's Extension and Continuing Education Department, completing 26 of them with three A's, four B's, a C and a "satisfactory."

Hall's attorney, Albert Faulconer III, had learned that the phone conversation between Klinger and Lupton had resulted in a memo that Klinger wrote and gave to the incoming UWW director, Catherine Marienau, explaining why the UWW directors had overruled the admissions committee. The memo hinted that the directors were influenced by Hall's star athletic status. The memo was subpoenaed.

Judge Lord then ruled there was sufficient evidence to grant the injunction because, after all, the university never recruited Mark Hall to be a scholar in the first place. Hall was reinstated to the team.

The reaction has fallen only slightly short of an uproar. A faculty-student committee already studying academic performance of university athletes this year is now studying reports that basketball coaches had, on occasion, harassed faculty members to give the boys good grades so they could continue playing. UWW is re-evaluating its liberal admissions policy. The basketball coaches are

A Back in the Box

University of Minnesota basketball player Mark Hall sued the university for right to play, no matter how bad his grades.

telling the local sporting press about the new emphasis on academics—that new sanctions, such as sitting on the bench, will be imposed for missing class. And they have made a big deal about the fact that the basketball team had a composite 2.4 GPA (a C+ average) for fall quarter.

Meanwhile, the Big 10 is compiling a report on school-by-school academic performance of athletes. Charles Walcott, chairman of the University of Minnesota faculty-student committee on athletics, said a few people from the university have had advance peeks at the upcoming Big 10 report and it doesn't look good for Minnesota. At first glance, this would seem very strange. The University of Minnesota has gained a reputation over the decades as an institution of strong academics. But the realities of big-time athletics are something else again. They have very little to do with academics.

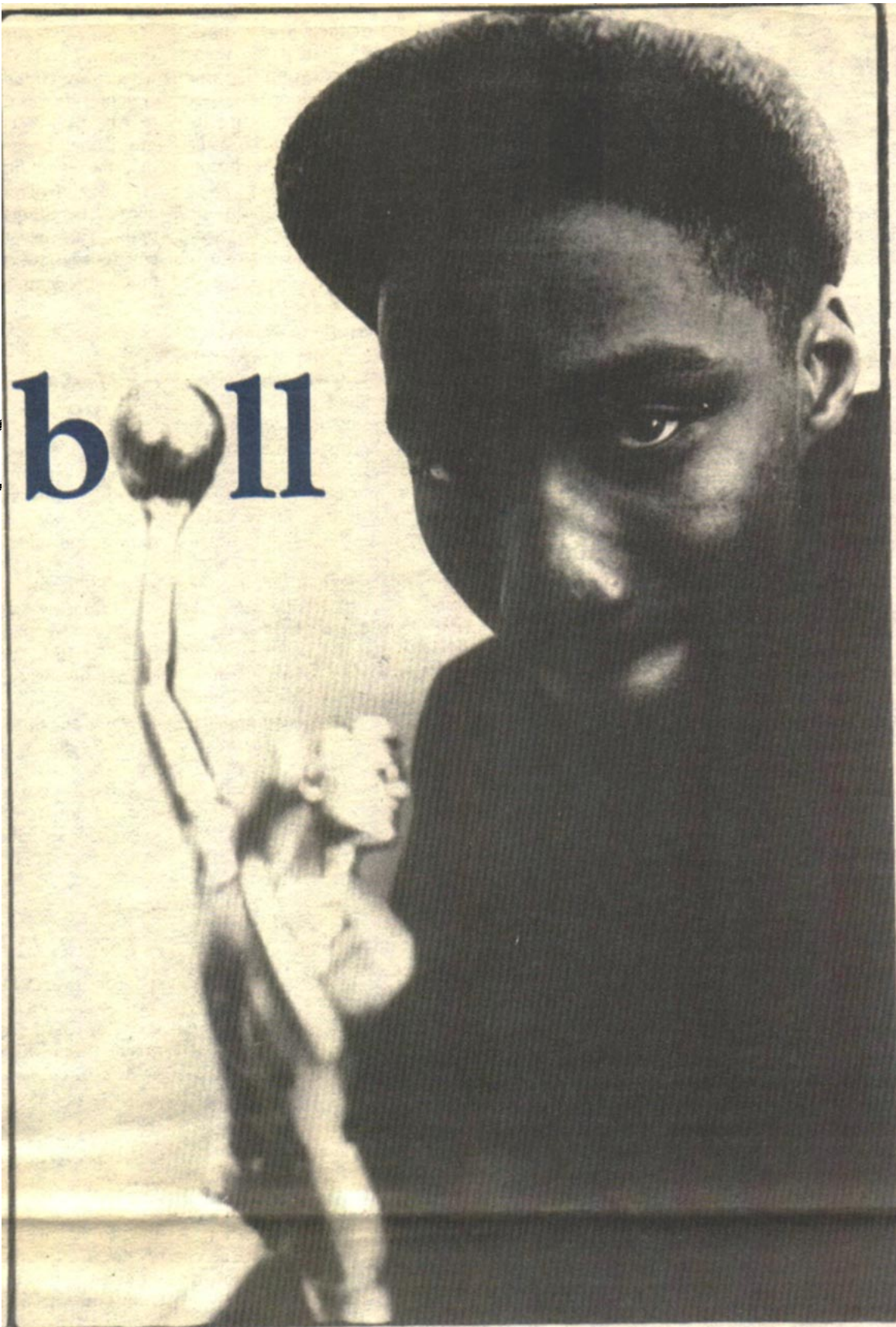
If the Mark Hall case is about anything it is about the emperor's new clothes.

At Ohio State University, former head football coach Woody Hayes once said that any player on his team was worth \$60,000 a year to the school. Hayes arrived at that figure by dividing the football program's annual revenue by the number of participants. As gauche as the statement was, it demonstrates a degree of honesty rare to most college coaches when talk turns to business—the real business of college athletics.

You really don't have to look much further than a few recent items on the sports page. Texas A&M recently decided to obtain the best football coach money could buy. The school's board of regents offered the University of Michigan's Bo Schembechler \$2.25 million over 10 years to serve as head coach and athletic director. Schembechler, making \$60,000 a year at Michigan, mulled over the offer before deciding to stay put. Factors in his decision reportedly included a big raise, a promise that he will be Michigan's next

blor's

asketball



athletic director and a pizza-parlor franchise worth \$150,000. The pizza parlor was given to Schembechler by a Michigan football booster who happens to be president of a pizza chain.

Texas A&M then turned to the University of Pittsburgh's Jackie Snerrill and offered him the same two jobs for \$1.7 million over six years. Snerrill accepted the offer, thereby becoming the highest paid university employee in the country. His annual income will be higher than any college president, any chancellor, any professor. Asked by reporters how any school could afford to pay that much

money, Harvey R. (Bum) Bright, 1943 graduate of A&M and chairman of the school's board of regents, explained that the money will not come from taxpayers, but from "supporters or boosters of the athletic program" (ticket and TV revenue, donations, etc.) "I guess it is just the free-enterprise system at work," he said.

This year, the University of Minnesota Men's Intercollegiate Athletic Department has a budget of \$4.81 million. The combined ticket revenue from football and basketball will exceed \$3 million (last year it was \$1.8 million from football and \$1.2 million from basketball), with an additional several hundred thousand from its share of Big 10 TV receipts, another several hundred thousand in hockey receipts, some \$600,000 in fundraising revenue and another \$100,000 or so from concessions. Although men's intercollegiate used to support physical education and intramural programs, it hasn't done so for at least 10 years, and it doesn't pay for anything else at the university other than itself, according to Gary Engstrand, an assistant in the university's administration and planning office. This year, the department is scheduled to shell out \$740,000 for athletic scholarships.

Yet the department does serve a public-relations function for the university. As sports sociologist Harry Edwards of the University of California at Berkeley wrote in his 1973 book, *Sociology of Sport*, "While a 'jock factory' will not fool anyone for long about its academic standards, many a university that *does* have a worthwhile academic program has become better known, and faster, because of its well-publicized athletes."

In an interview, Edwards said he sees parallels between the Hall case and that of former University of Illinois football player David Wilson, who has sued his old school for \$6.5 million. Wilson claims the school, by declaring him ineligible on the basis of an improper grade transcript, damaged his chances of being drafted by

the National Football League.

"As I look at those two cases it's not just a precedent I see," Edwards said. "It's part of a new atmosphere of rebellion. It's a challenge to the structure of sports in American society. We've reached a point where there must be fundamental changes in the relationships involved because of the tremendous riches to be gained. People are going to have to challenge that power."

Edwards freely conceded that he makes Hall sound like hero. "He is. He's an American patriot, in fact. With Reaganomics, everyone has not only a right but an obligation to pursue one's value in the marketplace."

"But the problem with these guys trying to get bargaining positions with the pros is that the number of people available for the positions is so much greater than the positions available that the pros do not encourage recruitment of troublemakers," Edwards said. "When a guy files a suit against a university over a sport, the pros look with a jaundiced eye because it'll happen again. Next time it might be over playing time or a contract."

Edwards said most athletes are indeed exploited. And characterizations of athletes as dumb jocks is most unkind and grossly unfair in most cases, he maintained. "The average football player in a Division I (major college) school devotes 49 hours a week either

participating in or recovering from his sport. Athletes come into college less prepared than other students and they put in more time than [non-athletes] with their part-time jobs. Then people wonder why only 35 percent [of college football players] graduate. The hypocrisy involved is incredible. It's a gargantuan ripoff."

Edwards said he wished that more advisors and coaches would make it clear to athletes how slim their chances of reaching the pros really are. Fewer than 2 percent of the athletes participating in major college sports ever sign a pro contract, he said.

Former University of Minnesota basketball player Corky Taylor recalls what an abrupt change it was for him to stop playing ball in front of big crowds. "You start playing well in high school and then everything comes easy. You become dependent on coaches and you have so many who help you, and for the most part it stops all of a sudden. Then there's a period of transition where you have to take care of yourself." Taylor apparently handled it well. Away from the constant demands of basketball for the first time, he had more time to study and averaged a 3.5 for the quarter. In 1975 he received his degree in Afro-American studies, and today is employed by the Minneapolis Community Development Agency, which is involved in development of low-cost housing.

A teammate of Taylor, Clyde Turner, also received his degree, earning it in four and two-thirds years—quite a feat for a busy athlete. Most take at least five years to complete their course work. Turner, a tall black player noted for his fall-away jump shot, had to pay the last two quarters of tuition out of his own pocket at the out-of-state rate. "I was somewhat displeased that they wouldn't help the athlete after his playing days were over," he said. "After washing your feet, they more or less say, 'We're through with you.'"

The fact that many athletes leave school because of high out-of-state tuition rates after their four-year scholarships are up is one reason people in the University of Minnesota athletic department doubt the meaning of reportedly low graduation rates of athletes. In the last decade, only a handful of basketball players and about 35 percent of the football players have graduated from the school, according to assistant athletic counselor Brian Hairston.

Mark Hall has a perhaps more realistic notion of athletic obligation. In a way, he is the perfect athlete for an institution that places such heavy emphasis on the money and power associated with the playing of games by grown men. Judge Lord ruled correctly that the university is engaged in hypocrisy. "It may well be true that a good academic program for the athlete is made virtually impossible by the demands of their sport at the college level," Lord ruled. "If this situation causes harm to the university, it is because they have fostered it and the institution rather than the individual should suffer the consequences."

The poetic justice is that Hall has used the university as the university has used its athletes.



Dick Dahl is news editor of the Minneapolis weekly newspaper *City Pages*, where a different version of this story first appeared. Sheldon Anderson, Bob Collins and Dean Johnson also contributed to the article.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PROTECTION

I GENERALLY AGREE WITH JOHN JUDIS' dialog on the family (*ITT*, Feb. 3), but I must take exception to one important point. Judis says, "society does not have the same responsibility toward homosexuality...that it has towards the childbearing family." I think he is confusing things a bit.

First, I think that society has the same responsibility towards homosexual living arrangements as toward heterosexual ones—a responsibility, at least, not to break them apart. This, aside from the issue of children.

Second, I'm not sure "childbearing family" makes sense. Women bear children, families raise children. Most childraising families in this country today do not have two parents of opposite sexes who are the children's biological parents. Nevertheless, I think all of the childraising families deserve defense, not just those "ideal" families. I include in the category of families those with one parent, those with two parents and an aunt or uncle, those with adopted children, and so on. These are not "childbearing" families, but they are "childraising" families, and they need support.

—Ann Tattersall
Eugene, Ore.

DANGER OF IDEOLOGY

IN HIS DIALOG WITH *ITT* READERS AND columnists concerning the family, "The danger of ideology over politics," (*ITT*, Feb. 3), John Judis presents a damning view of homosexuals, a view that relegates gay men and lesbians to second-class citizenship. Judis states that, in his opinion, society's view of homosexuality should be libertarian: "whatever consenting adults do is their business." But he goes on to say that "society does not have the same responsibility toward homosexuality [read 'homosexuals'] that it has toward the child-rearing family [read 'heterosexuals']." Judis also states, "As long as the family is the main institution for perpetuating our society, its members require special concern...."

What Judis is suggesting represents the danger of his personal ideology over my individual rights. In my opinion, in a society based on individual rights my lover and I—who have stuck together and supported one another for more than 10 years (at some times more closely than others)—deserve every bit as much "concern" as do a heterosexual couple who may enjoy the benefit of legal matrimony. And if either a heterosexual or homosexual "couple" should adopt or propagate a child, then that young dependent individual has his or her own set of rights that society must (or should) concern itself with.

I insist that it is the individual's rights that are in question here, and not some ideological or political notion of "family." There is something in Judis' remarks that suggests that forming families is the only really significant contribution to society: those of us who through choice or physical limitation do not make babies have a lesser role to play. When I find opinions like Judis' voiced on the left—opinions at the root of which is an implicit prejudice based on choices gay men and lesbians (among others) have made in living their lives—then I realize that our rights are threatened even from the left. And I'm reminded that socialism has yet to produce a model that includes safeguards

for the rights of homosexuals. Where the hell is one to go?

Where do gays have to go to find the kind of political alliances (and underlying ideology) we need to protect our rights—not just in steering through this period of reaction but in forming plans and strategies to bring about a future period of social progress?

—Jim Rinnert
with other members of *In These Times* staff:
Paul Comstock, Angie Fa, Grace Faustino, Nicole Ferentz, Anne Flanagan, Leonie Folsom, Paul Ginger, Elizabeth Goldstein, Tom Greensfelder, Anne Ireland, Josh Kornbluth, Sheryl Larson, Bob Nicklas, Bill Rehm, Diane Scott, Jim Steiker, Ann Tyler, Pat VanderMeer, Dolores Wilber, Debbie Zucker

I CAN'T BELIEVE I READ THE WHOLE THING

I HAVE BEEN RECEIVING IN *THESE Times* for slightly less than a year. I have consistently been impressed with the quality of the news and feature articles. I think the quality has steadily been increasing. There was a time when I would leave my *ITT* sitting around and not read it for a week or so. Now I devour the entire paper on the day it arrives.

As a democratic socialist, I cannot tell you how much I appreciate getting the news that other papers don't see fit to print.

—Cris Weals
Granville, Ohio

CONSISTENCY?

"THEY'RE SO INCONSISTENT!" THAT was the hue and cry when anti-abortion folks kept their mouths shut about poverty, world hunger, the arms profiteers. And it's so true: some "pro-lifers" are like a cross between St. Francis of Assisi and Attila the Hun.

So now the U.S. Catholic bishops do a remarkable thing. They come out anti-bomb, anti-abortion, anti-death-penalty and in solid defense of the human needs budget. Prolife from the womb to the tomb—or, better, "from erection to Resurrection."

Do I hear a murmur of appreciation? For instance, does Carol Dorf (*ITT*, Feb. 3) see consistency here: some recurrent theme, shall we say, of respect for human life?

Naw. This consistency, she says, is "contradictory."

I guess the whole vocabulary's up for grabs.

—Jull Loesch
Erie, Pa.

RAILROAD CLERKS

AROUND THE END OF NOVEMBER OF last year my labor negotiators signed a new 39-month contract. It was then put to the rank-and-file membership for a ratification vote. According to the union officials, 90 percent of the Railway Clerks voted for this contract. I do not believe that 90 percent of the Railway Clerks would vote for a contract that sold them out. The money part of the contract is not bad, but there is nothing about computerizing clerks out of their jobs, which is just what is happening. It could be that if computerization is not brought under control there will be no clerks left when this contract expires in 1984.

If any Railroad Clerks read this letter I would appreciate your comments. Please ask your co-workers how they

voted and what they think of being computerized out of their job, or having some non-union scab doing their work in some central location like the Network Management Center in Topeka, Kan., on the Santa Fe. Write to P.O. Box 2417, Hutchinson, KS 67501, or call me at (316)663-9420. I am home all day Thursday and Friday.

—Stephen C. Condit
Hutchinson, Kan.

THE SIMPLE TRAP

I WAS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY IRVING Weinstein's "Facing the 'vanguard' trap" (*ITT*, Jan. 13), in which he shares his reactions to reading Richard R. Fagan's *The Nicaraguan Revolution: A Personal Report*. Weinstein mentioned no first-hand experience of the Nicaraguan situation and evidenced no independent data gathering, so we were left with a general set of impressions that misread the Fagan report and arouse unjust alarms that the Sandinistas' "vanguard" role is almost certain to lead them into a Stalinist type dictatorship.

Weinstein contrasts Fagan's "soft" assessment of the role of the FSLN in Nicaraguan politics with the Sandinista statement, printed in the appendix, "Sandinism is Not 'Democratism.'" Weinstein charges that in the statement "the conception of vanguard and the contempt for 'bourgeois' democracy merge and become a powerful sanctification of the rule of a messianic elite." Not only does this characterization misrepresent the content of the FSLN statement, but also it omits what Fagan tells us—that the statement is polemical, written in the midst of sharp dispute and exchange of ideas. Two other statements are included in the appendix: dissenting positions of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) and the Social Christian Party (PSC). Fagan writes: "That voices such as the MDN and the PSC could speak unhindered in Nicaragua in 1980 indicates the high degree of political freedom that exists."

The tone of Weinstein's article reveals a tendency to see the complex ideological issues in black and white. In his concluding comments on ideology and legitimacy, Fagan cautions against just such a reductive analysis: "The ideological struggle reflects a continuing and very intense class struggle. The reflection is, however, by no means exact, nor is the struggle itself nearly as two-dimensional as some would have us believe. The field of forces is not the FSLN and the workers on one side against the capitalists (or the sell-out bourgeoisie) and the imperialists on the other. Simplistic formulations do not lead to understanding of complex issues."

—Janelle Reinelt
Chair, Labor Committee on El Salvador
Sacramento, Calif.

COMING OR GOING?

FRED THOMPSON (LETTERS, JAN. 20) suggests that John Reed was arrested by the Finnish authorities in route to Moscow for the first congress of the Third International. Thompson's source is not corroborated by "other data" as he suggests. The following sources contradict Thompson's account of John Reed's arrest: Granville Hicks, *John Reed*; John Stuart, *The Education of John Reed*; and Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*. For the sake of brevity, I will quote from Draper: "As 'Jim Gormley,' he [Reed] worked his way across the Atlantic as a stoker on a Scandinavian ship. From Norway, he stowed away on a ship bound for Finland. He was supposed to be taken in hand by two workers on the dock, followed the wrong pair, trudged back to the dock to flirt with arrest for a second time, and luckily found the right men....Eventually he was passed from sympathizer to sympathizer through Finnish lines into Russia early in 1920."

While attending the congress in Moscow Reed learned of the Palmer raids

and sought immediately to return home. He made two attempts. The first by rail through Latvia failed, the second led to his arrest. Hidden in the bunker of a freighter he was discovered and arrested in Abo by Finnish authorities. He was imprisoned in early March and released in June. The film's most glaring discrepancy involves Louise Bryant's trek across the tundra on skis to find her man. This never happened. Bryant's trip to Moscow was by freighter after much correspondence with Reed.

—Sal Salerno
Cambridge, Mass.

WHOSE LENIN IS IT, ANYWAY?

SO LOUIS MENASHE THINKS THAT THE *S*Reds version of Lenin is unfair, because Lenin really was a pleasant, friendly fellow (*ITT*, Feb. 10). Well, maybe, but here's the way Louise Bryant saw Lenin (*Six Months in Red Russia*, p. 99).

Comparing Lenin to Kerensky, she wrote, "Kerensky has 'personality plus,' as Edna Ferber would say; one cannot but be charmed by his wit and friendliness; he is a lawyer and a politician. On the other hand, Lenin is sheer intellect—he is absorbed, cold, unattractive, impatient at interruption."

Reds, of course, was supposed to be about John Reed and Bryant and their impressions of Russia, not Menashe's. In this respect, it was right on target.

—Abe Garbanzo, Jr.
Chicago

STEREOTYPICAL

I THOROUGHLY ENJOYED YOUR REVIEW of *Rollover* (*ITT*, Jan. 13). The description of the movie's vapidness was excellent, and I appreciate Pat Aufderheide's discussion of a topic that few critics have dared to broach—anti-Arab racism.

Two consistent themes are regularly used to defame Arabs. One is the "bloodthirsty" terrorist image; the other is the notion of the "filthy rich," uncultured oil sheikh. As noted in the review, *Rollover* seizes upon the latter stereotype. It is interesting to note that among the five largest oil-producing nations of the world, only Saudi Arabia is Arab. The vast majority of American oil comes from non-Arab sources. The Arab, however, continues to be scapegoat. As the World War II Japanese-American experience and the recent Iranian hostage affair have shown, such scapegoating can be very dangerous for an ethnic group in America.

Thank you again for the candid review. Would that other journals had your integrity.

—James Zogby
Executive Director, American-Arab
Anti-Discrimination Committee
Washington, D.C.

LIFE BEFORE DEATH

NO, NO, NO, SANDINO, THE FATHER of Nicaraguan independence, did not die in 1927 (*ITT*, Dec. 9)—that's when he began to live, fighting the U.S. Marines, against desperate odds, with desperate ingenuity and courage, until he was finally murdered (on instructions from the U.S. embassy) in 1934. But you are right of course: his ghost lives on, and we can call on him, as the Sandinista, revolutionary Nicaraguans have done and are doing.

—David Kunzle
Los Angeles

CORRECTION

The photos of Olympic Prison at Lake Placid should have been credited to Rob Swanson. Our apologies.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters less than 250 words long. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

PERSPECTIVES

The easy way to ruination

By Karl Frieden

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION's grandiose designs to shrink the federal government bedazzled official Washington. In the subsequent maelstrom, the achievable was typically confused with the desirable and productive. Even to critics there seemed to be a certain logic to the proposition that the demand for programs that could be so casually abridged was illusory, not real.

Overlooked in the orgy of conservative self-congratulation and liberal retreat was the fact that the Reagan strategy was dictated not by economic rationality but by an axiom of political expediency—take the pain of least resistance. Unable or indisposed to tamper with the largest items in the federal budget (defense, social security, veterans' benefits and interest) that account for nearly two-thirds of all spending, or the off-budget tax expenditures, the Reagan administration opted to focus on five more convenient targets.

First, physical infrastructure, human capital and social regulation were selected because they each provided less direct, more intangible and longer term benefits. Take them away and their absence, at least initially, will be less noticed than withdrawing social security checks or pulling police off the streets. While no less important than other governmental responsibilities, these public investments yield hidden benefits not immediately apparent.

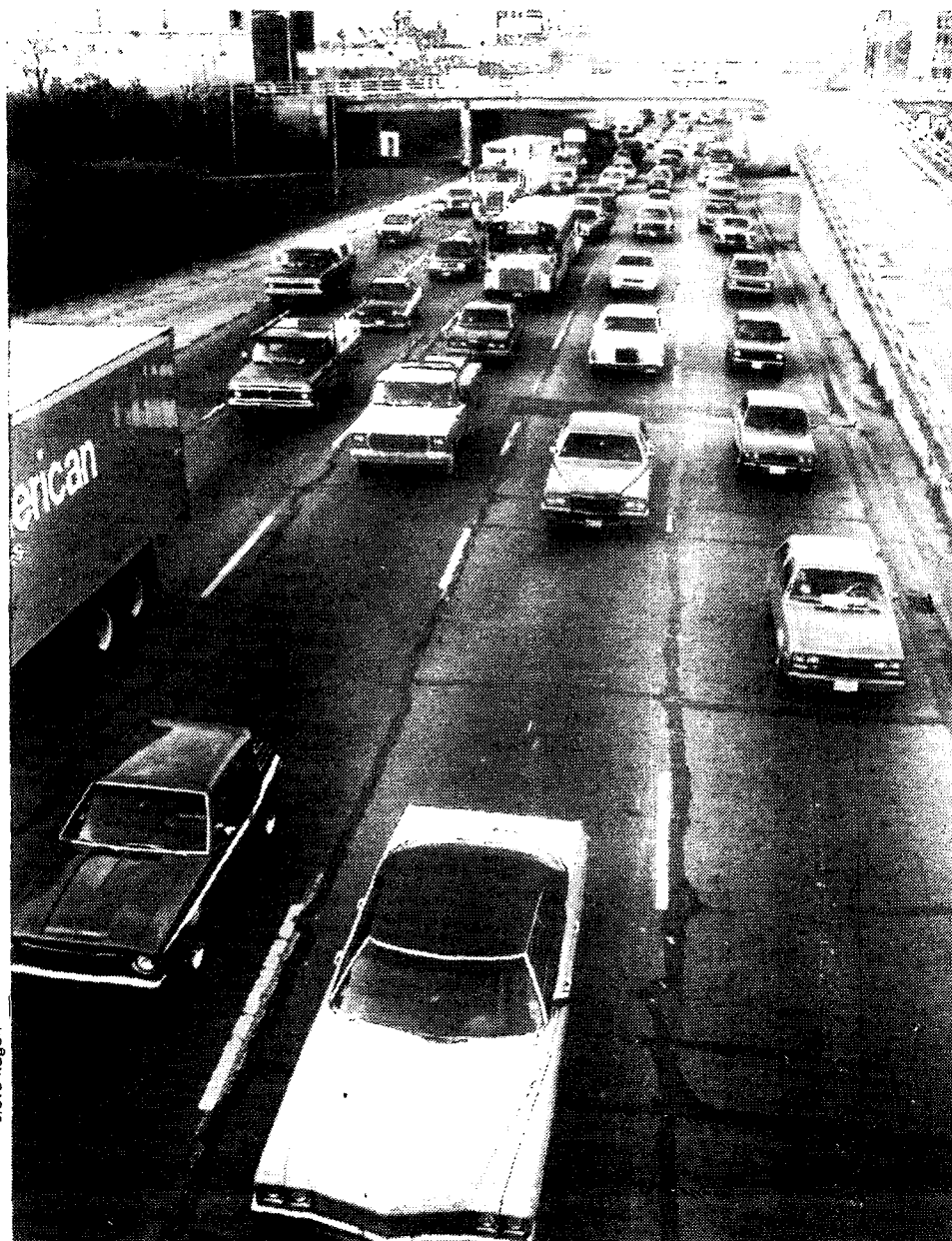
Second, the nation's poor and its public employees were targeted because they represent weak constituencies. The poor have no effective lobby of their own and the public sector employee unions have been weakened by the climate of distrust toward government.

That the Reagan administration should so readily identify the vulnerable margins of government activity is no small accomplishment and its cleverness in this regard should not go unappreciated. But to conclude that its artistry in locating vulnerability is synonymous with its skill in rendering government efficient requires a degree of naivete that is uncommon even in this land of economic innocents. To be sure, the Reagan program will produce short-term savings in each of the five designated areas, but only at the cost of far greater expenditures and regulations in the near future.

Growth in market economies has always been dependent on a balance between public and private investment. One of the major barriers to increasing American productivity has been the nation's serious underinvestment in public works that has affected virtually all such activities—including highways, streets, bridges, dams, sewage treatment plants, water systems, railroads and port facilities.

In three out of four American communities, public works facilities have been deteriorating faster than they are being repaired or replaced. For the Reagan administration to cut deeply into all transportation and urban development programs—at a time when more federal assistance is needed than ever—is the height of fiscal irresponsibility, postponing at great cost the inevitable reckoning with the nation's aging physical plant.

The U.S. currently spends less than two-thirds as much on physical infrastructure as other industrialized democracies. The Urban Institute has estimated that maintenance expenditures alone for public infrastructure will require more than \$660 billion in the next 15 years. State and local governments, buffeted by high interest rates, poor credit ratings, shrinking revenues and in-



In three of four American cities, public facilities—from streets to schools—have been falling apart faster than they are put back together. Reagan is accelerating this decay.

flation will simply be unable to close the investment gap without substantial federal assistance.

Not comfortable with confining its myopia to one area, the Reagan administration has also systematically underinvested in human capital. The substantial fiscal 1982 reductions in research and development, job training, aid to education and student loans are to be followed by additional reductions of one-third in overall aid to education, and nearly one-half in aid to vocational education.

Yet in an accelerating technological age, the skill and knowledge of the work force grows increasingly important as a determinant of national well being. With the evolution of international trade, developed nations are losing their competitive advantage in low wage or raw material intensive industries, and must rely more on knowledge-intensive industries such as computers, heavy machinery, specialty chemicals and sophisticated transport vehicles, where human capital is critical.

Expenditures for education and research and development have increased ten-fold in the last 30 years. According to a study by economist Edward F. Denison of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the increase in the number and the education of the work force, and the greater pool of knowledge available to workers, accounted for about two-thirds of the increased growth of the economy between 1948 and 1973.

Most of a society's investment in human capital takes place in the public domain. The federal government provides one-half of all research and development expenditures, and together with other levels of government contribute more than 80 percent of total education expenditures.

The undeclared war on the government's social regulatory agencies further reveals a Neanderthal approach to planning. As Reagan stated during his presidential campaign, "My idea of an

agency that would do research and study how things could be improved, and industry could go to it and say 'we have a problem here and we seem to lose more people by accident in this particular function. Would you come and look at our plan and then come back and give us a survey of what should be done?'"

Cutbacks of 25 percent or more in the budget and staffing of most of the safety, health and environmental agencies has occurred at a time when polls show most Americans want more protection from occupational hazards, airplane disasters, toxic waste dumps, nuclear power plants and consumer frauds. Industrialization, which has generated such enormous wealth over an incredibly brief time span, has contributed massive shocks to the planet's ecosystem. Who could have foreseen that millions of human beings using aerosol spray deodorants might possibly erode the earth's ozone shield with incalculable risks to the human race?

The industrial age has both increased the level of social costs and enhanced our ability to identify and contend with them. It simply costs more not to regulate today. The annual cost of cancer is estimated to be \$30 billion, 80 to 90 percent of it due to environmental causes. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has estimated it would cost \$8 billion to clean toxic wastes from the James River, and even that level of expenditure would be unlikely to restore the river to its former state. It would have cost Allied Chemical only about \$200,000 to have avoided this famous Kepone-induced disaster.

The flagellation of the poor has a less direct, though no less certain, long-term cost. The U.S. already has the second highest degree of income inequality among the rich nations on earth. With fully 70 percent of the fiscal 1982 budget cuts arising in programs affecting the poor, the Reagan administration apparently will not be satisfied until we're

in first place.

Crime is the standard yardstick for social instability. The U.S. has two to 10 times more violent crime than any other advanced industrialized nation. We live in a society where 30 percent of the nation's households are touched by crime annually. Do we really want more of this?

Business Environment Risk Information, a business consulting firm, is one of many forecasters predicting social disintegration. Says BERI Vice President Mary McCarthy, "This will be unlike the end of the Depression. Then there was massive migration to the North, where the cities could incorporate the unskilled. Now, the unskilled are unemployable. We see the timing [of rioting] at about the summer of 1983, when these groups in cities see the economy moving ahead. They will find they're left behind, they'll have the perception they've been abandoned and forgotten because their government benefits are cut."

Moreover, the Reagan administration is establishing a reign of mediocrity in public sector employment that qualifies it for the 1982 G. Harrold Carswell Award. This prize is named for the Nixon Supreme Court nominee whose questionable qualifications caused Senator Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) to comment in his defense, "There are a lot of mediocre judges and people and lawyers and they are entitled to a little representation, aren't they?" The Reagan game plan toward public employees consists of lowering their real standard of living (by 4 percent in both fiscal 1982 and 1983), increasing their job insecurity and disparaging them regularly with unflattering comparisons to private sector employees. With monotonous predictability these steps will produce a brain drain with bright and promising workers forced from government employment or taking voluntary leave and demoralization rampant among those who remain.

No doubt it's an occasion for glee and merriment among the Reagan folks, who will eventually return to the welcoming embrace of the private sector. But in an era in which the public sector must shoulder major responsibilities, regardless of who is in office—and where the threat of nuclear war has raised the costs of unmanaged conflict almost to infinity—the price of public sector mediocrity is not one we can afford.

The Reagan approach to the public sector is nothing new. It is just a gross exaggeration of the uneven nature of the American genius—of the tendency to overproduce private goods and services and underproduce public ones. Thus the anomaly of encouraging clean swimming pools but no clear air, more advertising but less education, fancier hotels but decrepit public works and smarter computers but less intelligent operators.

Reagan's proclivity to confuse public sector investment with unneeded consumption or waste assures his place in history. His epitaph will read: Ronald Wilson Reagan, 1981-85. Potholes, Illiteracy, Cancer, Lawlessness and Mediocrity. RIP.

Karl Frieden is an associate of The National Center for Economic Alternatives.

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DIALOG

Auto design changes
doom the Clark plant

By Rube Singer

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE on the employee stock ownership plan at Clark, N.J., "Should the union give back or buy in?" (ITT, Dec. 23) omits certain facts that are needed in order for an informed opinion to be achieved.

Some years ago General Motors announced a five-year plan to change to front-wheel drive cars. This triggered a change in technology that eliminated the production of tapered bearings and other parts used in rear-drive assembly, such as drive shafts, housings, gears, gaskets and bolts. The Clark plant was the major source of tapered bearings for GM, as well as the rest of the automobile industry. (Ford and Chrysler are also changing over to front-wheel drive.) Until this change was instituted, the GM Clark plant was a profit maker of some importance to the corporation.

GM is now in the third year of transition from rear-wheel to front-wheel drive. At the end of this period, it will need few tapered bearings.

The Clark plant cannot begin to compete with the other major tapered bearing manufacturing plant (Timken) which has also been used for years by the automobile industry as a major source of supply. The former Clark plant, under its ESOP structure, faced with a dying demand for tapered bearings, cannot obtain the necessary capitalization for the research and development needed to introduce new technology so that it might compete with a giant corporation like Timken.

The Clark ESOP plan could not have been possible even in the short term without the firm support of GM. In the feasibility study that made the plan viable, the major prop was a three-year agreement by GM to purchase \$300 million plus in tapered bearings (\$100 million per year for a three-year period) and a \$10 million payment in return for 100,000 shares of preferred stock in the new corporation. Given this guarantee, the Prudential Insurance Company loaned ESOP \$15 mil-

lion and the Fidelity Union Bank another \$15 million. In addition, a bridge loan for another \$15 million was arranged in anticipation of a government loan for that amount, which has not yet been realized. The suggestion that those who own

stock in the ESOP plan own the plant is a blatant fallacy. The real ownership resides in the consortium that loaned the money to purchase the plant.

The suggestion that the workers covered by the ESOP plan exercise control is another fallacy. Control is exercised basically by GM in partnership with the consortium.

The only 'democracy' permitted the workers in the bargaining unit is the right to determine the extent of a self-imposed speed-up on a plant-wide basis. They have given up the right to strike.

It is apparent that GM intends to use the Clark ESOP as a yardstick in the coming negotiations in the automobile industry. The analogy of the "Judas Goat" is not far-fetched.

In his own way, L.C. McCandless, president of the Ford Local in Sheffield,

Ala., presented the only possible solution under the circumstances. He chose a class solution to the local's problems as opposed to the temporary, personal solution of class collaboration.

As Moberg points out in his closing paragraph, the issue of plant closings and unemployment is a political question. It is a matter that cannot be resolved through collective bargaining, give-backs or ESOPs. The nine million unemployed and the millions of uncared working poor cannot be excluded from the solution because they, too, are victims of the present economic conditions, caused by the permanent decline of the modern capitalist economy. ■

Rube Singer is a former president of GM Local #736 and a former organizer for Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in New Jersey.



Belize was granted independence Sept. 21, 1981, but many Belizeans fear Guatemala more than British rule.

Left and right in Belize independence

By Ted Aranda

ONLY RECENTLY DID I read the article on Belize by David Helvarg (ITT, Oct. 7) I was startled by its inaccuracy, the basically poor reporting and the glib, cliché-laden manner in which it was written. But I was really angered by the gross misunder-

standing and misconception of the country's internal and international political situation it no doubt created in the minds of readers, most of whom probably do not often see an article about Belize in any publication, much less one of *In These Times*' caliber.

I lived in Belize for several years, and my father, Dr. Theodore Aranda, is the leader of the opposition party, the United Democratic Party. Helvarg obviously made no effort to get a view of Belize from UDP leaders, and he was too blind to see the strength of their position on the country's recent independence, which is against that of the People's United Party, the ruling party.

The impression conveyed by the article was that the PUP is progressive ("pro-independence") and the UDP is "conservative." The situation is exactly the opposite! But to understand that one must look through the transparent facade of pro and anti-independence propaganda. It may seem that at any given time any given colony would be better off independent. Belize, however, is an exception. Belize has been self-ruled, literally, for nearly two decades, with Britain not wanting to have much to do with the country, but obligated to provide financial and military assistance. The UDP is for independence, but not under present circumstances.

In recent years, Guatemala has intensified its ever more dangerous proportions its claim to Belize, and has repeatedly mobilized on the border. At the same time, the PUP, led as always by Premier George Price, has been hard at work negotiating an appeasement treaty with Guatemala, which would entitle Guatemala, among many things, to the use of Belizean highways and ports, and the right to "defend" Belize. In essence, the PUP would hand over Belize to Guatemala if the treaty is ratified.

Throughout these negotiations, from

which the PUP tries hard to exclude the UDP, and about which the public is deceived, the U.S., and now the Reagan administration, has supported Guatemala and pressured Britain to yield. The UDP has opposed the terms of the treaty and had called for a national referendum on it. The UDP had also urged that the problem with Guatemala be resolved before acquiring independence. The PUP, in disregard of public opinion and the people's democratic rights, is intent on having no referendum. And, of course, Belize now has a very tenuous independence, with Guatemala given the green light.

The second reason for objecting to immediate independence is the disastrous state of the economy. Britain provided a substantial amount of assistance, which will soon cease. With this in combination with the typical incompetence and corruption of the PUP administration, it is not surprising that the economy is now even worse than it was before independence and is on the verge of collapse.

Helvarg stated in his article that Price was "widely popular." Nothing could be farther from the truth. This is clearly seen in the recent massive rioting in the country, the first such incidence in its extraordinarily peaceful history. Widespread protests of independence, and the more recent national Town Board elections, in which the UDP won by a wide margin, indicate this.

The presence of the British army and air force was the only deterrent to a Guatemalan invasion, since Belize has almost no armed forces of its own and is too sparsely populated to wage resistance. Now Belize's very existence is dependent upon the extent of Guatemala's aggression, and the Reagan administration's foreign policy in Central America, which has made itself quite clear. ■

Ted Aranda is an organizer for United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) in Chicago.

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By T.J. Jackson Lears

Pantheon Books, 375 pp., \$18.50

By Morris Dickstein

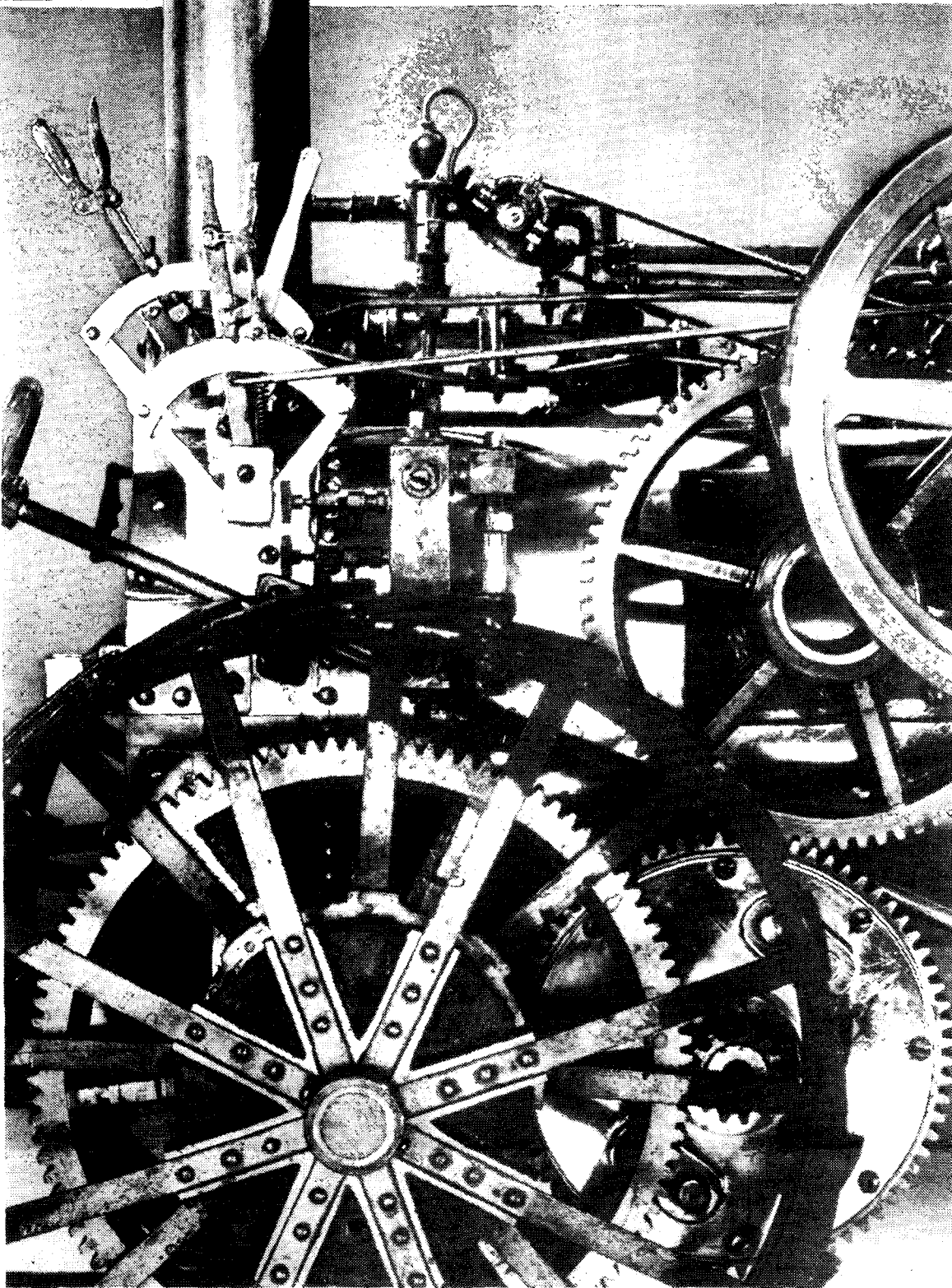
"We smile at our Victorians now," wrote Harold Nicolson at the beginning of his biography of Tennyson in 1923, summing up the attitude of his generation toward those ponderous grey-beards who worried so much about society, morality and divinity and wrote such damnably fat books. Nicolson was preaching the anti-Gospel according to Lytton Strachey; it taught him to put down those solemn elders in a light and breezy tone, and it finessed their weighty concerns with a confident secularism, a brittle snobbery and a sense of rational enlightenment. Above all, it made light of their awesome moral scruples. The earnest Victorianism of the fathers—Leslie Stephen, for example—had given way to the gay modernism of the children: the aestheticism of Virginia Woolf, the impressionism of Roger Fry, the ironic sophistication of Strachey and his ilk.

It's remarkable how quickly this feeling of superiority began to evaporate. Within a few years after Strachey's death, the historian G.M. Young brought out *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*, an essay as light and allusive as anything published by Bloomsbury, but far more learned and well informed. This was followed by Lionel Trilling's biography of Matthew Arnold, Edmund Wilson's long essay on Dickens and many other works that have continued the reevaluation of the Victorian masters right up to the present day. In this process the Victorians have assumed a stature larger than life and a cast strikingly modern. In their enormously productive yet deeply conflicted lives, we have come to see the first enactment of our own 20th century dramas: the shift from a divinely ordained to a human world, convulsions of values and of cultural authority, the development of a scientific world-view, the growth of urbanization and industrial capitalism, the surge of conflict between social classes, the rise of revolutionary ideologies.

Even Marx and Engels have assumed their place as eminent Victorians, alongside Carlyle, Dickens and John Stuart Mill. And we have come to see the anglophile Freud, who translated Mill, as the last of the Victorians and the first of the moderns. Now we no longer smile at our Victorians; instead we identify with their heroic anguish, their wrestling with angels, even though we rarely find use for their stoical notions of duty and self-control.

Lives of dissenters.

In *No Place of Grace*, a young and brilliantly persistent cultural historian, Jackson Lears, tries to do for our late American Victorians what numerous scholars have accomplished for their British counterparts—to make them real to us, to make their shadowy conflicts live again, to show their contemporaneity. Grounded in the political radicalism of the '60s, Lears explores the lives of more than 60 turn-of-the-century "antimodernists"



Some American Victorians revolted against the values of the emerging industrial era (above, detail of a turn-of-the-century steam engine).

HISTORY

Seeking refuge from the engines of progress

—dissenters from the new order of industrial progress and technological rationalization.

Many of these men and women were frankly reactionary. Recoiling from the world around them, they idealized other cultures and periods. Among them were founders of the arts-and-crafts movement, who celebrated handicrafts over industrial methods; prophets of militarism and the strenuous life, who embraced vitalism and the cult of experience over what Nietzsche called the "evasive banality" and weightlessness of modern life; medievalists who worshiped Dante and the Catholic culture of the Middle Ages and orientalist who sought a similar refuge from the engines of progress in the exotic art and religions of Japan.

Many of these figures were writers but only a few, notably Henry Adams and Van Wyck Brooks, are still read today. The others, if remembered at all, are seen as a grey mass of wealthy New England patricians who were suffering the shocks of a

declining elite in the course of being displaced—a process that forms one of the themes of Adams' remarkable *Education*. Their psychosomatic symptoms, their restless traveling and their conflicts with paternal authority could compose a casebook on Victorian neurasthenia.

Lears rescues this large cast of characters from oblivion but he doesn't succeed in bringing them to life. He is too intent on seeing their conflicts as symptoms and paradigms of the modern predicament. He condenses their stories and writings (and his staggering research) into short sketches laden with wordy abstractions. Chapters and sub-chapters have cumbersome labels that betray a complete want of Stracheyan delicacy. (One typical sub-chapter is called "Unreal City: Social Science, Secularization, and the Emergence of Weightlessness." Another is "Revitalization and Transformation in Arts and Crafts Ideology: The Simple Life, Aestheticism, Educational Reform.") This clumsy aca-

demic verbosity disfigures a major work. It's a dissertation mentality run wild, a card-file marching in regular formation, and it tends to reduce individuals to illustration of concepts.

Lears' method is influenced by Marcuse, Foucault and certain Marxist historians associated with the Frankfurt School. He focuses on the paradoxes of social consciousness. While he pays lip-service to the

social and economic base, his view of the productive sector can be summarized in a few pat phrases about the shift from small-scale entrepreneurial capitalism to organized corporate capitalism toward the end of the 19th century. He scarcely mentions the changes brought about by immigration, the pell-mell growth of cities, advances in technology, the Progressive movement, the rise of the Socialist Party and of labor unions and conflicts within the political system. He concentrates on a handful of privileged scions of native American families whose contradictions he treats as symptoms of the trauma of modernization and whose thoughts and therapies, he claims, prefigure our own modes of rebellion and acquiescence.

Lears tries to look behind these people's values to get at their deeper moral and psychological meaning. In a typical dialectical ploy, he says of young militarists like Teddy Roosevelt that their "fascination with aggressive impulses involved more than cheap thrills or an anti-intellectual cult of machismo. It contained a moral critique of modern culture." Other liberal or radical historians, such as John P. Diggins in *Up From Communism* and Ronald Radosh in *Prophets of the Right*, have tried to channel the ideas of the conservative anti-capitalists or isolationists into a left-wing critique of bourgeois society. As Radosh himself puts it, dealing with isolationist critics of American globalism, "these conservatives raised issues and defined problems that...opened the way for liberal and leftist critics of a later epoch."

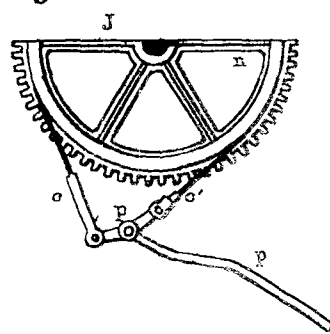
Captured by conservatism.

In *No Place of Grace* something quite different happens. Lears, instead of capturing his reactionary subjects for a radical critique of contemporary society, ends up being captured himself by their conservative and backward-looking vision. A book that begins with the socialism of Marx and William Morris and relies heavily on the Marxist methods of Marcuse and Gramsci concludes within the religious framework of T.S. Eliot's "Ash-Wednesday," which gives the book its title. Quoting from Eliot's poem, the book finally tells us that there is "no place of grace for those who avoid the face," no hope for modernity unless it acknowledges some kind of transcendence, "no time to rejoice for those who walk among the noise and deny the voice." According to Lears, the speaker in the poem "refuses any longer to deny the voice, even though he still cannot hear

Continued on the following page

Lears tries to capture anti-modernists for a left critique of consumer culture—but

they capture him instead.



Continued from page 13

it." He experiences "the revitalization of his will to believe, even in the continuing absence of firm belief."

It would seem that Lears underwent a conversion in the course of writing this book. If he did not find faith he came at least to believe in belief. His main quarrel with the resurgent right today is that "their ideology is entangled with liberal assumptions." He seems to share their values, as embodied in "the tributes to family solidarity, the invocations of the work ethic, the idealization of the local community, the distrust of giant bureaucracies, even the pervasive religiosity." He admits that the new rightists are also apologists for militarism/capitalism, and unbridled economic rapacity, but insists that "beneath official pieties, the Right [sic] embodies a wholly understandable yearning for an authentic, unchanging bedrock of moral values and beliefs that can withstand the disintegrative effects of modernization."

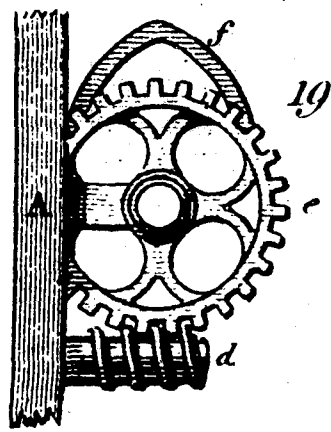
How did a writer whose mind and political allegiances were obviously formed by the New Left emerge with such a ringing defense of "conservative values?" (To Lears they are "too important to be left to pseudo-conservative apologists for capitalism.") Was it from the New Left or the New Right that Lears learned that "modern secular liberalism...has by now revealed the moral hollowness of its core?"

In terms of this book, the heart of the problem is Lears' decision to organize a vast quantity of disparate material, much of it fascinating, all of it very well researched, around the theme of "antimodernism." This creates a needless confusion of terms, because much of what Lears calls antimodernism—the quest for intense experience and new forms of expression, the plunge into the irrational with the help of exotic, non-Western models, the pursuit of authenticity at the expense of communal norms—belong to what we usually call modernism, with its many submovements in the arts from impressionism and symbolism to fauvism, cubism, futurism, expressionism and surrealism. Lears draws all the necessary links between his own troubled late Victorians and these modern artists, but as he proceeds from figure to figure the whole concept of antimodernism becomes a Procrustean bed into which too many different shapes are being forced.

A yearning for stasis.

Lears does this not only to press home a thesis but because his own view of contemporary life is so narrowly "antimodern." His yearning for stasis, for an "authentic, unchanging bedrock of moral values and beliefs," virtually disqualifies him as a student of modernism, which is nothing if not a series of bulletins on how that bedrock has been eroding and breaking up. Yet it is wrong to identify modernity entirely with disintegration, as Lears does, ignoring the many forms of reintegration perpetually under way around us.

Lears seems not to understand that modernity has been an adventure as well as a trial for many of the best modern minds. In a closely related book just published, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, Marshall Berman takes modernism back into the 19th century and examines the profound ambivalence toward modernity of a range of



seminal European writers, including Goethe, Marx, Baudelaire and Dostoevsky. Lears frequently stresses the ambivalence of his lesser subjects but none of it rubs off on him or affects his uniform loathing of modern life. Since the collapse of the political hopes of the '60s, this kind of wholesale onslaught on modernity, because of its critical edge, its tone of bitter disenchantment, has often passed for radicalism. Lears recognized by the end that it is more closely akin to the conservative rejection of secular society.

On the left this kind of conservatism has usually led not to a nostalgia for religion but to a brooding cultural pessimism, whose classical expression can be found in the closing pages of Max Weber's book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (from which Lears takes one of his epigraphs) and the fervid conclusions of his late essays on "Politics as a Vocation" and "Science as a Vocation." In *The Iron Cage* Arthur Mitzman has written a good analysis of Weber's conception of the "iron cage" of modern society, with its inexorable technical rationalization and bureaucratization of lived experience and the consequent separations of head and heart, thinking and passion. Weber's evocation of the trap of progress—his denunciation of "specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart"—has influenced many writers, including the cultivated Marxists of the Frankfurt School. Despite Marcuse's assault on him, Weber's influence can be found most clearly in his *One-Dimensional Man* and *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*. The historical studies of Michel Foucault also posit that every advance in enlightenment is implicitly a descent into degradation, that much of what we think of as freedom or progress is really a more subtle form of enslavement (or "domination" as Marcuse usually puts it).

Since the '60s this "dialectic of enlightenment," with its deep strain of cultural conservatism—especially its hostility to mass

culture—has had an incalculably great impact on intellectuals at different points of the political spectrum. On the right it shows up in the increasingly moralistic and venomous diatribes of Philip Rieff in *The Triumph of the Therapeutic* and *Fellow Teachers*. Closer to the liberal center it feeds the anti-modernist polemics of Daniel Bell in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. (See also Bell's warm evocation of Weber in *Partisan Review*, #4, 1981.)

On the left this cultural pessimism informs the work of many young followers of Marcuse and Adorno, as well as the sweeping social criticism of Christopher Lasch, including his books on the family and the culture of narcissism and his recent essay on mass culture in Sheldon Wolin's journal *democracy* (October 1981). Significantly, Rieff, Bell and Lasch are the three thinkers Lears credits with helping to shape his own viewpoint.

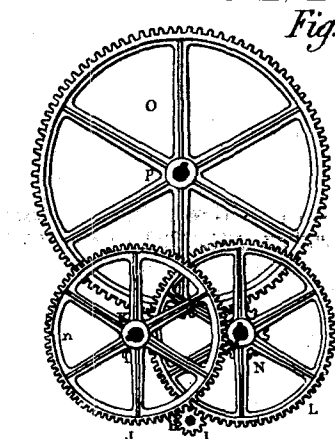
A lay preacher.

However influenced by previous cultural critics, all these works, especially *No Place of Grace*, have responded strongly to what happened in the '60s, recoiling from the counter-cultural radicalism and moral revisionism that went hand in hand with the politics of the New Left. For all its density of historical detail, Lears' book is another diatribe against the "me" generation, against the hedonism of both the counterculture and its supposed middle-American bedfellow, the consumer society. Unlike the young rebels of the '60s who saw no contradiction between self-fulfillment and the liberation of humanity, between the quest for authenticity and the pursuit of justice, Lears returns to an older style of left-wing puritanism, and rails against contemporary society with all the heavy-handed moralism of a lay preacher.

Lears' book is laced with attacks against the "achievement ethos" and the "new nonmorality of self-gratification," which he, like Rieff, usually describes as the "therapeutic" attitude. For Lears, as for Rieff, the goals of such "therapy" are the reduction of private pain and the search for personal happiness, which somehow make it morally contemptible. With their eyes trained on the well-being of the whole society, both writers care little for the petty incremental well-being of individuals. Thus they lose the balance Freud himself brought to these sometimes conflicting ends. Rieff's nostalgia for the sacred is not for faith but for an Age of Faith, for religion as a communal cement that holds society together and keeps the unwashed masses in their

place. He invokes religion not for its elemental human warmth or its transcendental illuminations but solely for what he calls its "interdictive" mode, its array of thou-shalt-nots.

Lears' religious and moral longings are of a higher order, but they don't prevent him from using terms like individualism, idealism, liberalism and secularism in a contemptuously pejorative way. In his chapter on the crafts movement, for example, Lears devotes some appalling and misleading pages to Jane Addams and the settlement-house reformers, who tried to tailor education and recreation to the needs of the new immigrants. For Lears this is a paradigm for the shift from a large-scale vision of social change to a merely personal adjustment to an inhuman system. Of Addams' co-worker Ellen Gates Starr he says condescendingly, "Her efforts no doubt lightened many lives, but her individualist and idealist assumptions paved the way to a conception of art as little more than uplift." He describes Addams too as betraying the socialist ideals of Ruskin and Morris for a therapeutic approach to the blighted lives of factory hands and immigrants. Instead of appreciating the extent to which Starr and Addams were not co-opted or beaten down, he laments their capitulation to "the corporate system of organized capitalism." Though Lears cannot muster the Central European *hauteur* of a Marcuse, he raps out a steady drumbeat of



contempt for piecemeal reforms and the welfare of individual lives.

Relevance with a vengeance.

Nearly every one of the figures in *No Place of Grace* is tortured on the same rack. In each case, as Lears tells it, their stirrings of dissent finally yield to some kind of accommodation; a vision of social transformation gives way to a therapeutic orientation centering on individuals. Lears rediscovers our Victorians only to demolish them for their shortcomings. Only Henry Adams—more unyielding in his pessimism, more protean in his think-

ing—is fully exempted from this final dismissal, in part, I suspect, because Adams made no practical intervention whatever in society. A reflective man armored in his mordant wit, he did nothing that could compromise the integrity of his vision. Yet Lears' other subjects, though far from first-rate minds, are still too various to be accommodated by Lears' relentless and reductive paradigm.

Nor do the categories themselves stand up under close examination. First, they are too strictly contemporary. It may have disgusted Lears to see the radicalism of the '60s turn into the culture of narcissism, but he never fully convinces us that a comparable shift was the dominant pattern of the 1890s. Despite his abundant quotations, we cannot elude the feeling that he found just what he was looking for, and organized the material in terms of his pre-conceptions. This is "relevance" with a vengeance. And even if we could plausibly locate "the therapeutic world view" in the minor patriarchy and reformers of this period, it would still make no sense to call their whole society (and ours) "weightless" or to make high-toned references to "a culture evaporating into unreality" or "a culture which [sic] was rendering all identities (and all values) vaporous and unreal." This is as difficult to substantiate for the 1970s as for the 1890s. I have yet to read a cultural critic who tells us his own life is vaporous and unreal, his self hollow and incapable of satisfaction, though he too lives in the same society. It's always other people's lives that attract condescension and seem less richly textured than our own. A would-be Christian should show a shade more Christian charity. "Judge not, and ye be not judged."

No Place of Grace is unrelentingly judgmental, a piece of committed scholarship hemmed in by its commitments. As a first book, written initially for a degree, it is staggeringly impressive. But Lears' one-dimensional hatred of modern life impoverishes his vision. One clear example comes in his references to the parallel European tradition of antimodernism. Lears is well aware that in Europe reactionary ideas and the rejection of modernity led to something far worse than accommodation to the consumer society: to the persecution of "rootless cosmopolitans" emancipated by the Enlightenment, to anti-Semitism, fascism and even the death camps. Yet despite all his obtrusive moralizing, Lears makes no great moral distinction between European and American anti-modernism. For him, as for Marcuse, the

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NEW YORK, NY

February 25

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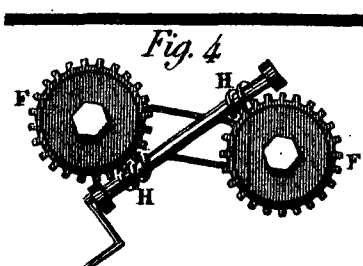
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consumer society is *already* a form of totalitarianism, a false paradise of "repressive desublimation" and manipulated needs and wishes. If liberal capitalism is a more subtle fascism, then fascism itself loses its special horror; it makes no taxing claims on our historical imagination.

Lears' antipathy to the idea of authenticity or self-realization obliterates other important distinctions. He sometimes writes as if the whole notion of the self could be reduced to frivolous consumerism, narcissistic therapies and countercultural hedonism. He seems not to understand that the turn from a divinely sanctioned world to a human-centered one placed an inevitable burden on the self and on personal experience as a source of values. This was the dilemma and the grandeur of the Roman-



tic movement—that each man had to create his own universe. "Axioms in philosophy are not axioms," said Keats, "until they are proved upon our pulses." And since America was creating the first modern, the first truly secular society, this "imperial self" loomed even larger here, as studies of our classic writers have repeatedly shown. In his recoil from the excesses of the cultural radicalism of the last two decades, Lears travesties the evolution of the modern sensibility, which he, like the fundamental-

ists of the New Right, would hope to repeal by a shift to firmer moral standards.

Lears undercuts his argument against authenticity and the individual quest for identity by exonerating certain modernist writers, despite their extremism and even nihilism, if they deal with "experience in all its tragic dimensions." (Other critics who attacked the '60s were surely more consistent in also condemning its modernist forebears, despite their undeniable genius and great literary prestige.) Lears also weakens his case with personal allusions and with his own significant example. In his acknowledgement he pays handsome tribute to his wife's "artist's sensibility," which would scarcely have much meaning without some impulse toward self-realization. His own

work is an enormously ambitious and wide-ranging cultural synthesis. Might it not have some little connection to the "achievement ethos" that he despises?

No Place of Grace is the kind of book whose very existence disproves its point; its own quest for authenticity is anything but vaporous and unreal. Lears sees his work, despite its rigorous documentation, as "a kind of intellectual autobiography," but even its title seems to deny that other can find a similar meeting-ground between subjective and objective reality.

For all the richness of its individual chapters and its insight into our cultural history, *No Place of Grace* points up the limitations of the whole tradition of cultural pessimism to which it belongs, a discourse so bleak in

its paradoxes that it seems trapped in its own "iron case," its own kind of nihilism. Lears himself seems to say as much when he concludes his book with a eulogy of Eliot, who moved from the cultural despair of *The Waste Land* to the qualified Christian affirmation of "Ash-Wednesday," where Lears tries to follow him. But Eliot's fragile kind of grace, so close to quietism, offers a prescription for the modern world that is as hard to apply as his previous sense of desolation. It offers a way out of ambivalence; it offers consolation, but only to those who have already been consoled by it.

Morris Dickstein is the author of Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties. He teaches English at Queens College. Next week: T.J. Jackson Lears' reply.

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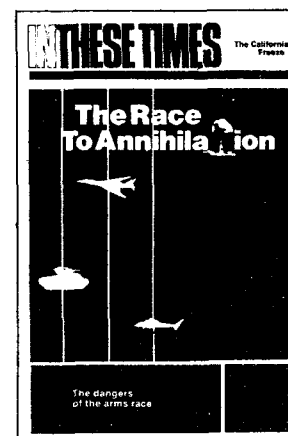
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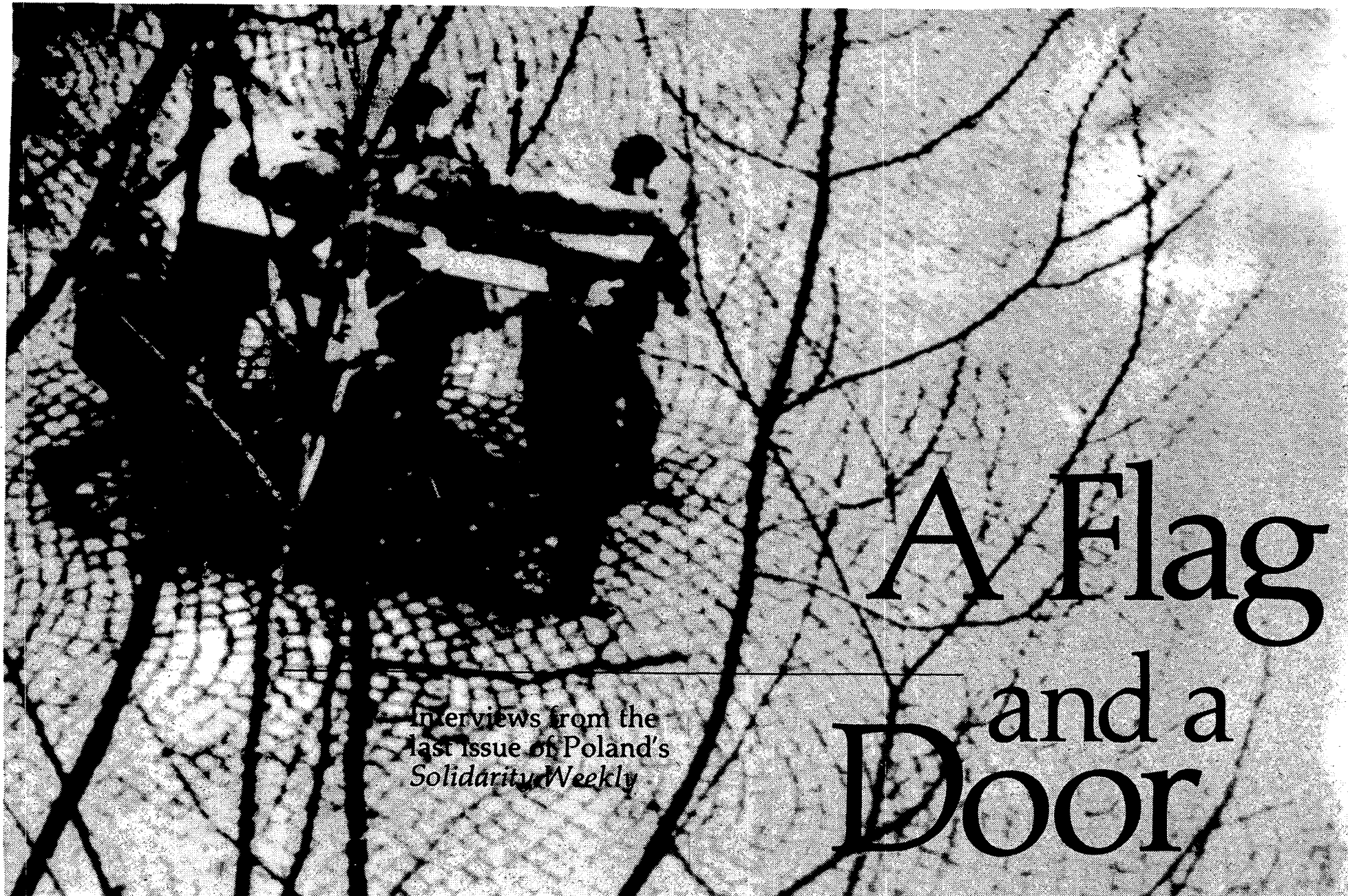
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A Flag and a Door

Interviews from the last issue of Poland's *Solidarity Weekly*

Translated and edited by Andrzej Tymowski

From its first issue in April 1981, Poland's *Solidarity Weekly* was more than an official union bulletin. It was the pulse of the wider social movement and *Solidarity's* nervous system. By reading the *Weekly* one could sound the emotional tone underlying *Solidarity's* hectic daily struggles.

The lead article on the front page of the last issue, Dec. 11 (No. 37), commemorated the protests in the Baltic port of Gdynia 11 years ago. Driven by the haunting images in a stark photograph, Malgorzata Niezabitowska uncovered the suppressed history of those days through conversations with participants.

A DOOR. ON IT LIES THE DEAD man. Six others carry him. Before them a red and white flag, behind them a grey cloud. This photograph, taken by stealth through leafless branches of a tree, has become world famous. It has become the symbol of violence, struggle and sacrifice: December 1970 in Gdynia.

After these events a great fear ruled Gdynia. People were afraid before August 1980, during August, and some even today. For that reason, immediately after the triumphant summer strikes in 1980, the shipyard workers determined to build commemorative monuments as soon as possible. The history of our country teaches that one can never know how events will shift and how long the current 'great liberalization' will last.

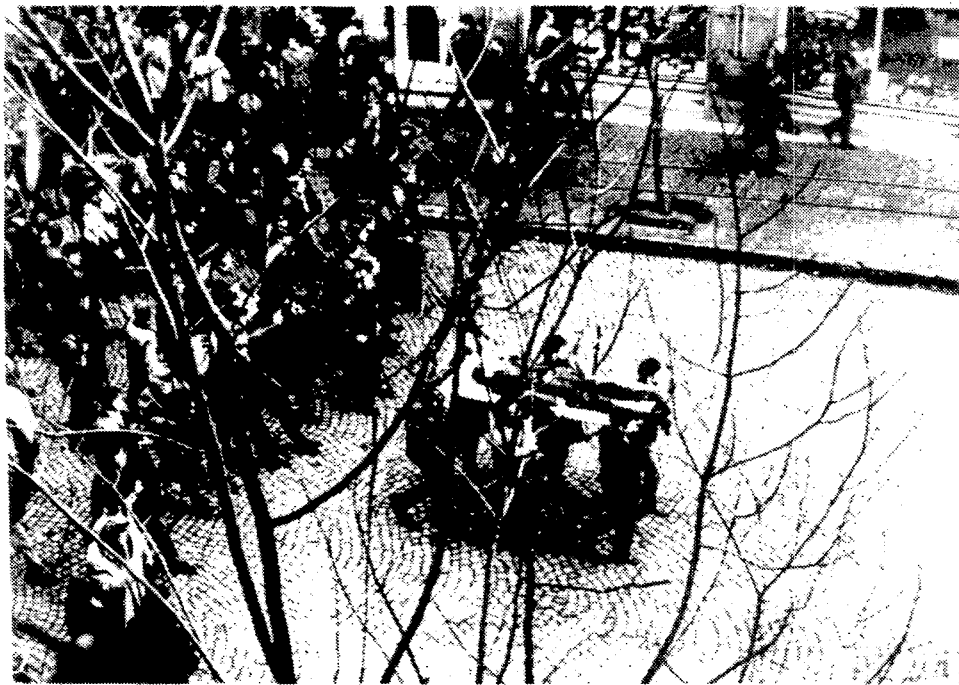
On December 17, 1970, Adam Gotner boarded the train for the shipyards in time for the first shift. He had heard about the events earlier this week in Gdansk—about the burning of the Communist Party headquarters and about the street-fighting. But Gdynia was completely calm. The previous day, it was true, the army had surrounded the Gdynia shipyards. Tanks and armored personnel carriers lined the streets. The soldiers had live ammunition, bullet belts across their chests; they looked as though they had stepped out of a scene in a movie about the October Revolution. But they weren't bothering anybody. In any case they were green recruits, recently drafted. They were scared; obviously they had no idea why they were there. The entire shipyard milled about in front of them to get a good look—it was not

something that happened every day. Friendly conversations began as workers shared their lunches with soldiers on duty.

The following day the mood was different. As Gotner approached the viaduct between the train station and the shipyards he saw a large crowd, mostly men. They behaved calmly, talking to each

other and not getting up again. People's bodies make a poor walking surface. They are so soft and pliable that finding a foothold is tricky.

Adam's vision went out of focus, and he could see nothing but dim lights in the distance. Friends grabbed him under the arms and carried him off. What relief!



This photograph, originally part of an exhibit of formerly clandestine photographs, is used with permission from the forthcoming book by Laurence Weschler, *Solidarity: Poland in the Season of Its Passion* (Simon and Schuster).

other with incredulity rather than alarm. But today there was no contact with the soldiers. Adam stopped on the sidewalk next to a friend from his department. They had just started to say hello when a burst of machine gun fire ripped through the crowd.

It was uncanny. A moment earlier everyone had been standing, walking back and forth and talking and now they were slipping down into an odd-shaped cramp, and the viaduct was empty and still. Only bodies remained, laced so thick that they covered the asphalt completely. His friend had fallen, so Adam leaned over to help. But it was too late—a bullet had smashed the man's head apart. He was dead. Adam wanted to straighten up, but he began to choke as though he had had the wind knocked out of him. His left arm hung limp almost to his knees.

Six rounds had sliced through his flesh, and he had not felt a thing. All he remembers from that journey was the desperate effort not to stumble, not to fall. He knew that once down he would

The light was from headlights of an ambulance. He thought to himself, "Now I can die."

Dipped in blood.

Moments later a helicopter circled overhead. Through the open doors a man was visible aiming a rifle. His shot hit a young man, perhaps 17 years old. People ran up to the body and bore it aloft on their shoulders. They wanted to present this senseless death to the whole world, to demand restitution for the crime. They started off for the center of the city. Then the idea came to get a door to use as a bier. The red and white flag that appeared from somewhere was dipped in the young man's blood and carried in front of the procession.

Eleven years later a question to one of those spontaneous pallbearers—"Why did you do it?"

"A spirit overcame me, I was ready to face gunfire with my bare hands. I forgot about dying. It's hard to describe. We all felt that it was necessary to show who was responsible. The authorities kept urging

us back to work, and when we came they shot us down like sitting ducks. We had to press onward at all costs."

It was at the moment that Edmund Peplinski took the famous photograph from the window of his second-story apartment. He snapped it hastily and in complete secrecy because he was afraid of being spotted. Both the police and the marchers, for opposite reasons, would have confiscated his film. It lay carefully hidden until after August 1980, when Peplinski gave it to *Solidarity*.

Adam Gotner survived. After a year's convalescence he returned to the shipyard where he works to this day.

"Adam, what do you think now about what happened in 1970?"

"I cannot answer that question. It is still too much with me. For the first year, two, three, after it happened I had those images constantly before my eyes. I couldn't concentrate on anything. Even now, if I don't watch myself I start thinking about it again and begin to drift off...."

"Were you afraid during August?"

"On the first day of the strike I went into shock. When a crowd gathered that wanted to leave the shipyard and spill into the streets I knew I had to stop them. Fortunately it never reached that point."

"Did you stay in the shipyards throughout the strike?"

"Yes. For every one of the 17 days. I knew that I had a moral right to go home, because it was very hard on me emotionally. But I stayed to make sure that there would be no victims. That was my role on the Strike Committee. Since many people knew me, I even prepared a little speech urging the strikers not to fall prey to provocation, but to leave quietly in case of attack."

"Do you ever want to get revenge?"

"No, I never have wanted to. And it would have been easy to find those soldiers, they were from nearby Kolobrzeg. I talked to them myself the day before the massacre."

"What about those who gave the orders?"

"No, not even them. I became convinced of that when I visited Mrs. Piernicka. We asked her if she wanted to condemn those who killed her 17-year-old son. 'No,' she answered, 'Just make them stop saying that he was a hooligan. I only want the truth.'"

Andrzej Tymowski is editor and translator of the 56 pp. booklet *The Strike in Gdansk*, Box 714, New Haven, CT 06511, \$2.75 postpaid.